This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

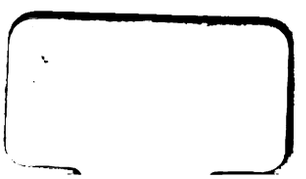
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Digitized by Google

Gm. Top. 4° 160



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

COLLECTANEA ARCHÆOLOGICA

OF THE

British Archæological Association.

VOL. II.—PART I.

EIGHT PLATES.

PRICE FIFTEEN SHILLINGS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

COLLECTANEA ARCHÆOLOGICA:

COMMUNICATIONS

MADE TO THE

~~British Archæological Association~~

When the Volume is completed, a fresh Title-page, Contents, Illustrations, Preface, and Index, will be given.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS.

M.DCCC.LXIII.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

I.—On the Tumulus of Maes-Howe, in the Orkneys, by T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. and Treasurer of the Association - - - 1—4

II.—Comparative Statement of the Translation of the several Inscriptions found in the Great Chamber of the Tumulus of Maes-Howe, by Principal Barclay and Professors Stephens, Munch, and Rafn. By the same - - - - - - - - - - 5—8

III.—Explanation of the Inscriptions found in the Chambers of the Maes-Howe, by the Rev. T. Barclay, D.D., Principal of the University of Glasgow, Memb. of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities of Copenhagen 9—17

IV.—Ancient Camps, Earthworks, and Fortifications in Devon, by George Vere Irving, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., V.P. of the Association - - - 18—29

V.—On the Genealogy and Armorial Ensigns of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Leicester, by J. R. Planché, Esq., Rouge Croix; Hon. Secretary of the Association - - - - - - - - - 30—41

VI.—On the Life and Times of Letitia Countess of Leicester, by Edward Levien, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. - - - - - - - - 42—54

VII.—On an Early Manuscript in the Muniment Room in the Guildhall, Leicester, by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Member of the Institute of France, Secretary for Foreign Correspondence of the Association - - 55—64

VIII.—Netley Abbey, with an Account of Recent Excavations and Discoveries, by the Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., F.S.A. - - - - - 65—92

IX.—An Inventory of the Furniture, etc., of a Tavern at Stratford-on Avon, taken in the time of Shakespeare, by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A. - - - - - - - - - 93—114

X.—An Itinerary of King Edward the First, compiled by the Rev. Charles Henry Hartshorne, M.A. - - - - - - - - 115—136

Digitized by Google

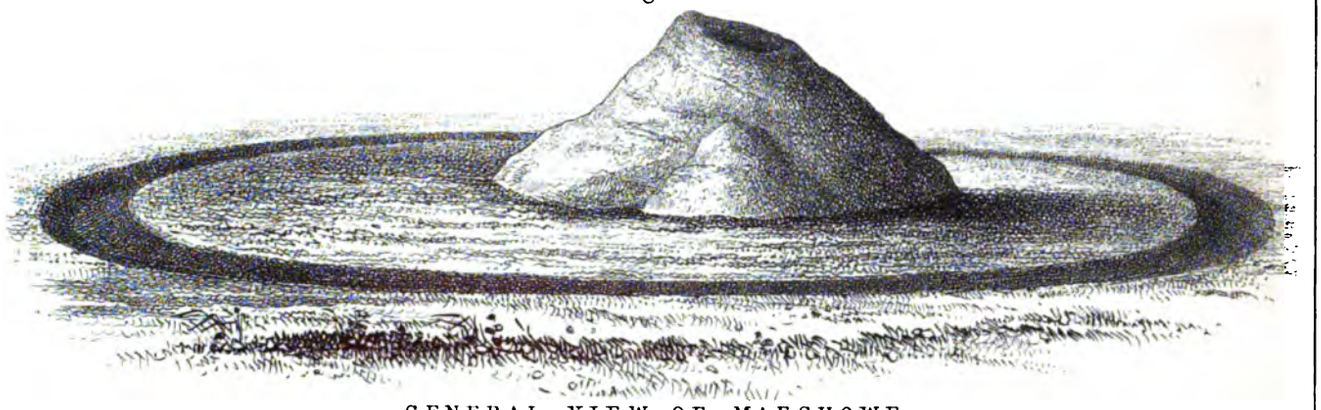
ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE		PAGE
I.	General View of Maes-Howe Tumulus, Plan of Chambers, etc. -	1
II.	View of the Interior of the Great Chamber, with Inscriptions -	2
III, IV.	Runic Inscriptions in the Great Chamber of the Tumulus - -	10
V.	Plan of Netley Abbey, with the Foundations lately traced -	68
VI.	Altar Tomb and Corbels found at Netley Abbey - - -	71
VII.	Various Specimens of Encaustic Tiles, from the same - - -	72
VIII.	Gurgoyles and other Particulars found at Netley Abbey - -	88

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Fig. 1.



GENERAL VIEW OF MAESHOWE.

Fig. 2.

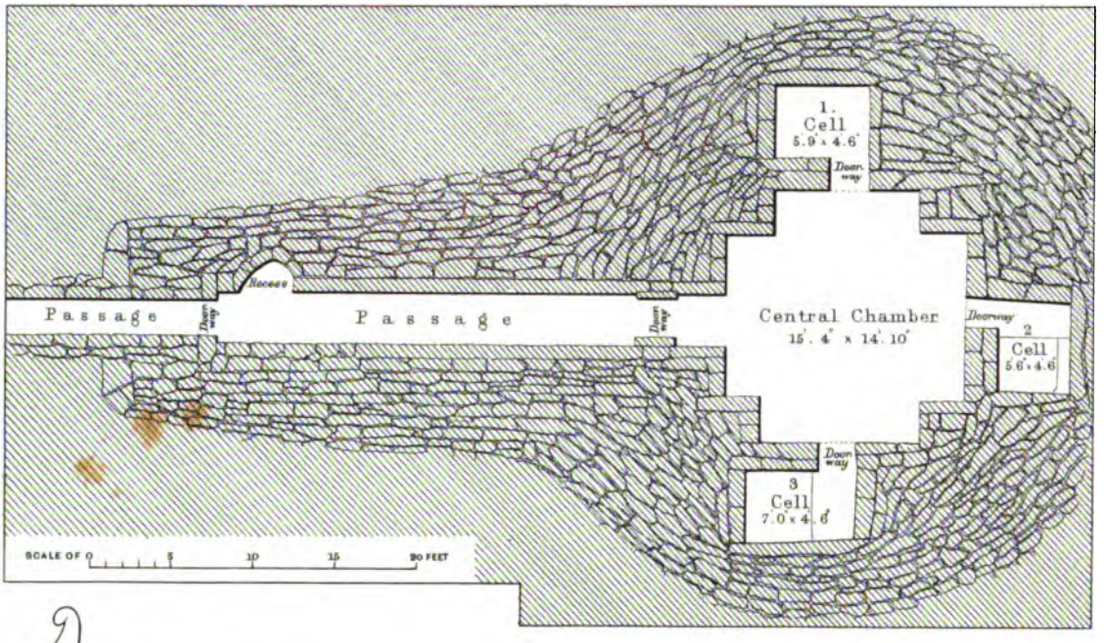


Fig. 3.

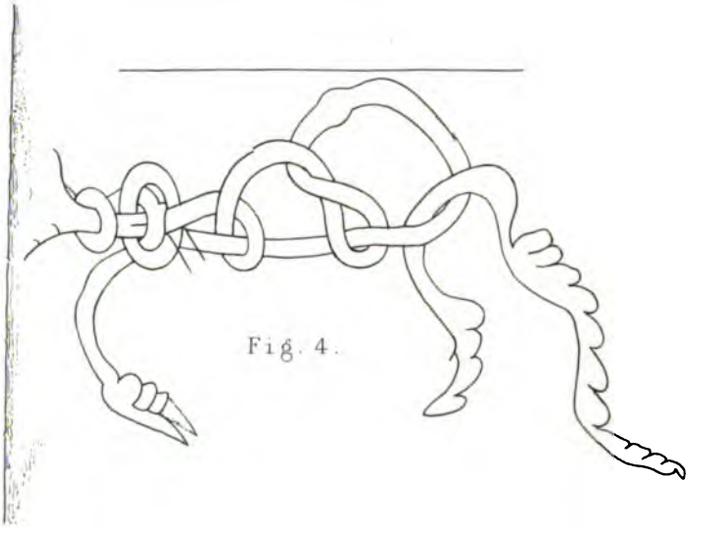


Fig. 4.

J.R Jobbins

Digitized by Google

Collectanea Archaeologica.

ON THE TUMULUS OF MAES-HOWE IN THE ORKNEYS.

BY

T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT AND TREASURER.

AS the paper by the Rev. the Principal of the University of Glasgow is devoted rather to a translation of the Runic characters discovered in the Tumulus of Maes-howe, than to a description of the tumulus itself, I have thought it convenient and ancillary to a distinct understanding of the subject, to make a few introductory observations.

In July 1861, James Farrer, Esq., M.P. for Durham, laudably zealous in the pursuit of archæological research, excavated some large tumuli on the property of David Balfour, Esq., of Balfour and Trenaby, in the neighbourhood of the stones of Stennes or Ring of Brogar.[1] Mr. Farrer's attention was especially directed to the great tumulus of Maes-howe, and upon investigation a passage was discovered on the west side which proved to be the entrance to the tumulus covered over with large flag-stones. The tumulus is of a somewhat conical shape, much extended at the base (see Plate I, fig. 1), and according to Mr. George Petrie (who aided Mr. Farrer in his examination) measured about 92 feet in diameter, was 36 feet in height and about 300 feet in circumference at the base. It is surrounded by a trench 40 feet wide, varying in depth from 4 to 8 feet. The situation of the tumulus is on the north side of the new road leading to Stromness from Kirkwall, a mile and a half from the stones of Stennes. There can be no question as to its having been opened at some remote period (probably by the Northmen) and the stones closing up the cells were found torn out and scattered about in the mass of ruins lying within the great chamber. The passage (see plan on fig. 2) to this chamber, the central one, measured 2 feet 4 inches in width at the mouth, and appears to have been the same in height, but the covering stone had fallen in for about 22½ feet. The passage in its progress increases in size to 3¼ feet, 4 feet 4 inches, and

[1] See "Notice of Runic Inscriptions discovered during Recent Excavations in the Orkneys made by James Farrer, M.P." Printed for private circulation. 1862. 4to. Thirteen Plates, including General and Interior Views, Plan of Central Chamber, Passages and Cells, Sections of the Chamber and Runic Inscriptions. Nos. 1-32.

Digitized by Google

thus continues for 26 feet, when it again becomes narrower by two upright stone slabs to 2 feet 5 inches. The slabs were 2 feet 4 inches in breadth, and immediately beyond them the passage extends 2 feet 10 inches and then opens into the central chamber. From the slabs to the opening into the chamber the passage is 3 feet 4 inches wide, by 4 feet 8 inches high. A triangular recess and a large stone appear to have formed a means of closing the passage and also of procuring admission into the chamber. From the recess to the chamber the sides of the passage, the floor and the roof are formed by four immense slabs of flag-stones, three of which are broken, and the fourth is also slightly cracked.

Removing the rubbish within the chamber, an operation requiring a few days labour, Runic inscriptions were observed high up on the walls and around (see Plate II). The chamber was 15 feet square, on the level of the floor, and 13 feet high to the top of the present walls. Opposite to the passage is an opening in the wall 3 feet from the floor, which was found to be the entrance to a cell in the wall 5 feet 8 inches long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The entrance to this was 2 feet wide, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. On the two opposite walls of the chamber are similar openings, giving admission also to the cells, varying somewhat in their construction but in few particulars. The four walls of the central chamber converge towards the top by successive projections or overlappings, commencing at about 6 feet from the level of the floor, so as to form a kind of arch. The aperture at the top could be closed by a large stone which had been thrown down along with a portion of the upper walls, so that the highest point of the existing walls is only about 13 feet from the level of the floor. The chamber is now 15 feet square at the floor, and 10 feet at the top of the walls. Large quantities of earth had been piled over the whole when completed. In each angle of the central chamber stands a large buttress to strengthen the walls and give support to them under the pressure of their own weight, and that of the superincumbent earth of the tumulus. The side of each buttress is formed of one single slab, but they vary in their dimensions, being on an average about 3 feet square at the base, and about 9 to 10 feet in height, except one which measures only 8 feet. The stones composing the walls of the chamber are of large size, and generally extend the whole length of the wall. No lime or mortar has been used in the building. The number of Runic characters in the chamber are about 935, exclusive of several scribbles or scratches and some doubtful marks; monograms and bind runes or connected consonants, being calculated as one letter. There are representations of a horse and an otter with a fish in his mouth (Plate IV, fig. 19), also a winged dragon with a fish in his mouth ? (Plate I, fig. 3), and a worm knot presenting a Saurian character (fig. 4). The inscriptions are often indefinite and frequently defaced. Decay to some extent must have commenced within the tumulus before the inscriptions had

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

been made. Many of the stones being cracked, the instruments with which the characters had been written had apparently slipped when they met with the cracks, carrying bits of the stone with them, a circumstance remarked by Mr. George Petrie. The stones of the cells or small chambers were found more perfect than those in the large chamber, not having been subjected in a like degree to the same destructive operation of atmospheric influence. It is conjectured that light to cut the runes must have been obtained from the opening at the top of the tumulus.

The inscriptions have been examined by Professors Stephens, Munch, and Rafn,[1] well known northern antiquaries; their interpretations, however, do not serve to throw much light upon the origin of the building. Two only are to be regarded as making allusion to the erection of Maes-howe. Professor Rafn believes it was a sorcery hall of Lodbrok, a female magician. Professor Munch says it was the burial place of a woman of the same name. Professor Stephens considers the writings as indicative of its having been used in early times by the celebrated Scandinavian Vikings, Lodbrok's sons, as a fortress and place of retreat. Mr. Petrie[2] gives as his opinion, that the building had originally been erected as a chambered tomb for some chief or person of great note, and probably long before the arrival of the Norseman in Orkney. He also conjectures that it may have been used as a sorcery hall, by the early Scandinavian Viking, and ultimately converted into a stronghold, or retreat by subsequent Scandinavian invaders. The coins and silver relics found at Sandwick in 1855, Mr. Petrie further supposes, may have formed part of the treasure referred to in the Maes-howe inscriptions. These inscriptions are by the northern antiquaries assigned to the twelfth century, though many are probably earlier, of the ninth, tenth, or eleventh, and some perhaps later. From these researches we learn that there are no less than eighteen different forms of the letter A, and that very few of the old northern letters are found. The carved letters are at various heights. The runics are regarded as belonging to the Norwegian division of the Scandinavian class, and have nothing to do with the gothic or older alphabet. Munch says they exhibit some archaisms, and he places them about A.D. 1150. The same authority conjectures Maes-howe to be derived from Meitis. Meiris was the name of a fabulous sea-king, and the appellation was afterwards used to denominate a king or warrior. *Haugr*, pronounced *How*, is used synonymously with tumulus. *Meiris-haugr* would, therefore, read tumulus of the sea-king *Meiris*. Rafn thinks it derived from *Mar*, the name of a man. Stephens

[1] These are given in Mr. Farrer's work, and an amended translation of those made by Professor Stephens has been published by that gentleman in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1862, p. 287 *et seq.*, from which the translations in the subjoined Comparative Statement are taken.

[2] *John o' Groat's Journal* for August 14, 1862.

Digitized by Google

reads it *Mair*. The names of *Orki* and *Mar* occur in the characters, and it is inferred that *Mar Orkason* engraved some of the runes. One of the inscriptions is construed to give the Scandinavian runic *Futhork* or alphabet :

F, U, TH, O, R, K, H, N, I, A, S, T, B, M, L, Y.[1]

The translation by the Rev. Dr. Barclay will be learnt from his paper, of which it is necessary to state, that the translation has been made from copies taken for Dr. Barclay by Mr. Henry Leisk, an intelligent gentleman in Orkney. The transcript, however, agrees with that published by Mr. Farrer, though the sequence of the numbers varies. Dr. Barclay has given translations in Latin as well as in English, because the Islandic idiom can be *verbally* rendered into the former without being so utterly barbarous as when subjected to the same process in English.

[1] Inscription No. v, p. 27, *Farrer*. This is given upon the authority of Professor Stephens. Professor Rafn calls it the common Runic alphabet and writes it thus:—FUTHORK HNIAS TBMLR. Professor Munch also styles it the Runic alphabet, and that some of the letters have been placed out of their proper order, owing, probably, to carelessness on the part of the writer.

Digitized by Google

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT

Of the Translation of the several Inscriptions found in the Great Chamber of the Tumulus of Maes-Howe by Principal Barclay and Professors Stephens, Munch, and Rafn.

Barclay.	Stephens.	Munch.	Rafn.
I. *Teitr vikingr* (fór) *Akorbjargar til.* "Teit the viking (travelled) to Acre."	*Thatir Uikinkr.....A Kom, Vtir, Hir, Til.* "Thatir Wiking, from, came Mait (weary)-here-to." Perhaps from the sea, or from battle.	*Thatir Vikinkr . . . Komu tirhirtil.* "That which the Wicing . . . came outerly here to."	*That ir Vikingr . . . a kom ut irhirtil.* "This is a Viking . . . come out is here to."
II. *Rolfr Kolbeins sonr reist runar thisar Gart.* "Rolf, Kolbein's son, carved these runes to the memory of Gart."	*Molfr Kolbœinsson raeist runa thesa Ghaut."* "Molf Kolbainsson risted (carved) these to Gaut."	*Tholfr Kolbeinssone raeist runar thesa.* "Tholf Colbanesson engraved these runes.	*Tholfr Kolbeinssone reist runar thessar hatt.* "Tholf Kolbeinsson carved these runes on high."
III. (No. x, Farrer). *Thorir fórir.* "Thorir the traveller."	*Thorir Formir.* "A proper name," or *Thorir Fonkmir.* "Thorir follow me."	Probably the name of a man. There is a rude figure of a horse engraved.	A name of doubtful import, *Fá-mèr*, perhaps, procure me. Thorer procure me the cross. The great cross underneath may refer to the Crusade. It is engraved at a comparatively late period.
IV. (No. III, Farrer.) *Brig ódilt.* "Brig the Udaller."	*Brah hoh thana.* "Brah hewed this."	*Bre hoh thena, or, Braut haug thenna.* "Broke this tumulus."	*Bre höh thenna.* (No translation given.)
V. (No. IV, Farrer.) *Vemundr reist.* "Vemund carved (these runes)."	*Uemuntr raeist.* "Vemunt risted (cut this)."	*Vemuntr raeist.* "Wemund engraved (these runes)."	*Vimundr raeist.* "Vermund carved (the runes)."
VI. (Nos. XIII, XIV, XV, Farrer.) *That man sa Tirig seki Atfo vigar forit a brot. Thrim nottom svarf i brotfoerd galdor andalet.* "That fellow, whom Tirig convicted of the murder of Atfi, went abroad (was banished). While in banishment he was three nights in a state of unconsciousness, and died mad."	*That, man, sat, ir, Ekiæ, he, at, Feuar, fort, abrot.* *Thrim Notom, uarfi, brot, fort, Haeltr, Ænthaeir.* "That man who sat here in ache (sorrowfully) he at the Fee-Ware (at the treasure gate—from the treasure guard) forth a broke, with three comrades from the stronghold broke forth the hero Ænthaeir."	*That man sat . . . æhe at feuar fort abrot thrim notom var fi brot fort haeltr. Æn thaeir Jorsalamen burtu hauk thaena.* "This does not that (fool!) remember that the treasury was (already) carried away. Three nights was the treasury carried away rather (*i. e.*, before) than the Jerusalem travellers broke this tumulus.	*That man sat er Igi saehi at fe var fært abrot thrim nottom var fe bröt fært haeldr Æn Thaeir Jorsalamen burtu haug thaena.* It is true indeed, as Inge states, that the goods were carried away during three nights. The goods were carried away before the Joralsmen broke open this barrow.
VII. (No. XII Farrer). *Otarfiner rist runir thisar.* "Otarfin carved these runes."	*Otar Fila, raeist, runar, thesar.* "Otar Fila cut runes these."	*Iota, fila, reist, runar, thessar.* "Iota Fila engraved these runes."	*Iota, Fila raeist runar thisar.* "Iota Fila carved these runes."

Digitized by Google

Barclay.	Stephens.	Munch.	Rafn.
VIII. (No. VI, Farrer). *Orka sonr saydi runor theirir, han er ora er.* "Ora, the son of Ork, cut these runes."	*Orkasonr saghthi, a runom theim ir han ristu.* "Orkason said, in runes, those as (which) he carved."	*Orkasonr sagtti a run om theim er halir ristu.* "The son of Orca dictated the runes which heroes engraved."	*Orkason sahthi a runum thaeim ir han risti . . . saethian ir so Maur.* "The resolution which this Mar Orkason mentioned in the runes he carved."
IX. (No. VIII, Farrer). *Ingibjorg hin fagra Akkia Mo᛫ka kona hefir farit lytr ingir mikil oflati ærligr.* "Ingibord the fair, the wife of Akki the dark, is gone: a lady of faultless character, of graceful manners, and of honourable descent."	*Ingibior᛫, hin, fa᛫ra, Æ᛫kia. mor᛫gkona hœfer faret luutin hir mi᛫kil ofl ate . . A Ærlikr.* "Ingeborg, the fair lady (or widow). Many a woman hath fared (gone) louting (bent) here, who mickle (great) wealth owed (had). Erling."	*Inkibiorh, hin, fahra, œhkia, morhk, kona. Hœfer faret, lut, in hir mikil oflati.* "Ingiburg, the fair widow! Many a woman has wandered stooping in here (although) ever so haughty."	*Ingibiorg hin fahra ækkia a morhg kona hœfir farit lut in hir mihkil oflati.* "Ingibiorg, the fair widow, or Ingibiorg the fair, the widow. Many a rather proud woman did walk here stooping (bent forward), or did walk stooping here in (into)."
X. (No. IX, Farrer). *Thornr sart galge reist.* "Thornr the swarthy carved (or erected) the gallows."	*Thornr saerth—Hœl᛫is rœisto.* "The dart pierces—Hælghis carved.	*Thornu saerth—Haelhi raeist r.* "Thorny. Haelhi engraved."	*Thorny saerth—Haelhi raeist.* "Thorny said—Helge carved."
XI. (No. XIV, Farrer). *An sorga ny Jatkun hulr up Almates ro i.* "Free from sorrow Jatkun now rests in the peace of Omnipotence above: *i. e.*, enjoys eternal rest in heaven." (2nd Inscription on this stone.) *Aki Arinsonr.....* (J) *arls ris.* Akki Arnson—the Earl's voyage.			
XII. (No. XXII, Farrer). *Tungl old vii. Sunnudagr v.* *Kindelmess Sunnudagr.* *Fullvaxit Tungl Sunnudagr.* *Sunnan i Fiskum.* *Mattiasmess Tungl ny.* "Golden Number VII. Dominical Letter E. Candlemas on Sunday. Full Moon on Sunday. The Sun in Pisces. New Moon on St. Matthias's Day."	*Bot Ær oktil at sokua, suo in Kotolant.* "Boot (blood money) is also to seek, so in Gothland, so in England." It may be a fanciful alphabet.	These are peculiar runes, but too obscure for interpretation.	This number represents some signs belonging to the calendar.
XIII. (No. XXI, Farrer). *Arnfidr reist runar thisar sonr stain drukkn (thit).* "Arnfin carved these runes to the memory of his son Stein, who was drowned."	*Arnfithr raeist runar thisar sonr Stains. Thruki Lit.* "Arnfith carved runes these, the son of Stain. Thruki Let. The beginning of a new sentence.	*Arnfither, raeist, runar, thisar, sorn Staeins. Thrukr Lit.* "Arnfinn, the son of Steins, engraved these runes."	*Arnfithr raeist runar thisar sonr Stains. Thrukr lit.* "Arnfinn, a son of Steins, carved these runes. Thrud caused . . ."

Digitized by Google

Barclay.	Stephens.	Munch.	Rafn.
XIV. (No. XI, Farrer). *Reist runar thisar of—ramr sigurdar sonr.* "The powerful son of Sigund carved these runes."	*Raeist runar theser Oframr Sigur tharsonr.* "Carved runes these Ofram Sigurth son."	*Reist runar thessar Uframr Sigurtharsonr.* "Ofram, the son of Siward, engraved these runes."	*Raeist Runar Thaesir Oframr Sihurtharsonr.* "Ofram Sigurdson carved these runes."
XV. *Arnfidr matr reist runar thesar.* "Arnfin the Excellent carved these runes.	*Arnfithr matr raeist runar thesar.* "Arnfith mate (mighty or greedy) risted runes these."	*Arnfithr Matr raeist Runar Thaesar.* "Arnfinn Mat (perhaps the greedy) engraved these runes." Matr was a nickname.	*Arnfithr matr raeist runar thaeser.* "Arnfinn glutton, carved these runes."
XVI. *Med deiri* (dyri) *Oksi rati Krugr Tranils sonr fyrir sunan land.* "Along with the respected Oksi, Krugr Tranilson travelled through (or in) southern lands.	*Maeth thæiri Oxse* *Er ate Kor* *Ukr Trœnilssonr* *Fyrir sunan-lant.* This, in the same stave, rhymed verse will be:— "With that axe, Own'd by Kor, Hews the son of Trœnil Along southern shores."	*Maeth Thaerei Thse Erati Koukr Traenilsonr Fyrir Sunan Lant.* "With this axe, which Gonkr Traenaldson owned or possessed on the south side of the country."	*Maeth thaeri Ohse Er Ati Göukr Traen Ils sonr fyrir sunan land.* "With this axe, owned by Gauk, the son of Trandil, in the south of the country."
XVII. *Hermundr har thiesir reist run (ar).* "Hermund has carved these runes."	*Hœrmuntr hartheksi raeist run.* "Hœrmunt hardaxe cut these runes."	*Haemuntr hartheski Raeist Run.* "Hermund hardaxe engraved these runes."	*Haermundr Harthigsi Raeist Run.* "Hermund hardaxe carved these runes."
XVIII. *Thisar runar rist sa madr er runstr er fyrir vestan haf.* "These runes that man carved who is runographer in (or for) these western lands."	*Thisar runar* "Runes these *Rist sa mathr* Risted that man *Er runstr er* In runes most skilful *Fyri uæstan-haf.* O'er the western seas."	*Rist sa Mathr er Runstr er fyrir Uaestan haf.* "That man engraved, who is the best runed west of the ocean."	*Rist sa Mathr er Runstr er fyrir Vaesten haf.* "The man did cut most versed in runes in the western countries."
XIX. (No. XXIII, Farrer). *Igigerder kyna in vensta.* "Ingigerd the most beautiful of women."	*Ikikœrthir kynœna in uœnsta.* "I(n)gigerth, of women the fairest."	*Ikikaerth ir Kynona in Uaensta.* "Ingigerthr is of women the most beautiful."	*Igigaerth ir kynana in vaensta.* "Ingigerth is the fairest of the women."
XX. (No. XXIV, Farrer). The first two words are *Tigitiu ar;* the latter part is illegible. "A hundred years."	No interpretation given.	No interpretation given.	No interpretation given.
XXI. (Nos. XIX and XX, Farrer). Five inscriptions on this slab:— 1. *Sia hougr var fyr latin halr Lodbrokar syner. Kenar their voro ok hvatir. Slet voro men sem their voro fyri sir utnordr. Erfi folgit mikit. retur.*	Inscription divided into six:— 1. *Sia houʁr uar fyrlathin hœlr.* 2. *Thœir uoro huater.* 3. *Slitu oro.* 4. *Ut northr er fe folʁit mikit.* 5. *That uar in Roninsacei.* 6. *Simon Siʁrik. Siʁrith.*	"Nos. VI and XXI of Barclay, and Nos. XIII and XIV of Farrer are read in connexion by Professor Munch. See those respective numbers. Also Nos. XIX and XX Farrer." *Sia houhr uar fylathin H . . . r Lothbrokar Syner, Haenar, thaeiruoro*	Professor Rafn also reads these numbers in connexion like to Munch. *Sia höuhr, Var Fyr Lathin haelr Loth-Brokar.* *Syner Haenar Thaeir vöro hvatir slikt vöro.* *Maen Saem Thaeir Vöro Fyri Sir.*

Digitized by Google

Barclay.	Stephens.	Munch.	Rafn.
"This sepulchral mound was (raised) for the sons of the deceased hero Lodbrock. They were wise, brave, and powerful. Scarcely have there ever been men such as they were in the North-West. Great funeral honours were paid to them." 2. (No. XIV, Farrer). *Jorsala farar Brutu Orm ouk Lif med sailia jarli lofoir geru. Erfi folegit mikit. Reist salir sa arfi nam Ada ound hin mikla.* "The Jerusalem pilgrims Orm and Leif, along with the blessed Earl, fulfilled their vows. Great funeral honours were paid to them. Ada the wealthy, who succeeded to the inheritance, erected these chambers." 3. *Okon tanr arfir rougi thisum.* "Okon of the tooth inherits this mound." 4. *Sir Oksi h. pr. (hinn. Prestr.)* "Sir Oksi the priest." 5. *Sigrid in roskra.* "Sigrid the aged."	1. "This how (how, barrow) was closed whole (was quite abandoned)." 2. "They were gallant (=those wikings!)" 3. "They suffered hardship." 4. "Out north is fee (treasure) buried much." 5. "That was in Roninsey (=North Ronaldshay)." 6. "Simon. Sigrik. Sigrith." (No. XX, Farrer) divided into seven parts:— 1. *Lothbrokar synar.* 2. *Sænar mæn sæm thœir uoro fyri sir.* 3. *Jorsala-farar Brutu Ork-ouſ.* 4. *Lif-mut sa ili ai a-ris loftir.* 5. *Hir uar fe folſket miket (Rœist).* 6. *Sœl er sa er fina ma than outh hin mikla.* 7. *Oko nækn bar fir ouſi thisum.* 1. "Lothbrok's sons." 2. "Doughty men as they were for them (=what brave men they were)." 3. "Jerusalem farers (pilgrims) broke into Ork-hoy." 4. "Shelter mount (weapon mound) that bad (that bad retreat, that wicked Ork-hoy) aye (stili) riseth (stands) lofty." 5. "Here was fee (wealth) hidden much (risted)." 6. "Sele (happy) is he who find may that store the mickle (those great riches!)" 7. "Me-oko (my ship) necken bore past how this."	*huater sletuoro maen saem thaeri uoro fyriser.* "This tumulus was formerly erected as tumulus (for Lodbrok if Haugr is read, or as that of, if we read hennar), her sons they were gallant, hardly (there) were men (such as they were). For themselves (*i. e.* shewed themselves)." *Jorsalafarar Brutu Orkhaug.* "The Jerusalem travellers broke the Orkhill." *Utnorthr er fe folgit mikit that er la eftir, her va fe folgit mikit (raeist Simon Sigb ... Sigrith) saell er sa er finna ma than outh hin mikla.* "North-westerly is much money absconded that which lay behind, here was much money absconded (Simon engraved); lucky is he who may find that great treasure." *Oronaekn bar fe ur haugi Thessum.* "Okonaekn bore money out of (away from) this tumulus."	*Jorsalafarar brutu Orkhöuh Lifnd.* *Sailia Jarls ut Northr ir fe folhit mikit.* *That Urlofoir hir var fi folhget mikit.* *Raeist Simon Sihr in tho ingi sihrith.* *Saelir sa ir fina ma than outh hin.* *Mikla. Ogdonaegn bar fi yr.* *Ouhi Thisum.* "This barrow was formerly a sorcery hall, erected for Ladbrok; her sons were brave, such were men as they were for themselves (such as we may call valiant men, such as they were in their achievements)." "The Jorsalafarar (visitors of Jerusalem) broke open Orkhow .... Earls. To the north-west a great treasure has been hid (but few believe that), a great treasure was hid here. Simon Sigr (victor) (carved the runes), and afterwards Inge." "Happy he who may discover this great wealth. Ogdonaegn carried away the goods from this barrow."
XXII. (No. XXV, Farrer). A wolf.	A dragon.		A dragon drawn with art.
XXIII. (No. XXVI, Farrer). A worm knot.	A worm knot.		A serpentine winding like those found on runic stones in the Scandinavian north, and on other monuments from the last period of heathenism, and the commencement of the Christian Æra.

Digitized by Google

EXPLANATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN THE CHAMBERS OF THE MAES-HOWE.

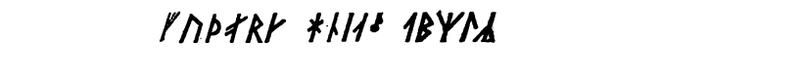
BY

THE REV. T. BARCLAY, D.D., PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW,
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUITIES OF COPENHAGEN.

THE common runes employed in these inscriptions, with their equivalents in Roman letters :—

f. u, v, y. th, d, t. o. r. g, k. h, g, k. n. i, e. a, e. s. t, d. b, p. m, r. l. y, final r.

The following is the tripartite division of the Runic alphabet, according to which the *lim* or branch runes are written and read :—



In the two specimens of *lim* runes which occur in these inscriptions, the branches on the *left* of the stem denote the number of the section as first, second, or third, in which the rune is contained ; and the number of branches on the *right* of the stem denotes the number of the rune in that section, counting from left to right. The order of the sections is reversed, No. 1 being the last section, No. 2 the middle section, and No. 3 the first section.

Lim runes are a species of cipher, and the only difficulty in reading them consists in discovering the order in which the sections are numbered, and in which the runes in each section are to be counted. That difficulty, however, is not great ; and when once the key is found out, these runes are far more precise and less liable to be mistaken, either in writing or in reading, than alphabetical runes.

In reading Runic inscriptions, it should be particularly borne in mind, that a rune which ends a word and begins the following word, is seldom repeated.

Mr. Henry Leisk of Orkney, to whom I am indebted for the annexed transcript of the inscriptions, and the plan and views of the chambers, says (what indeed is very

Digitized by Google

evident), that from the faintness of the tracings it is sometimes difficult to determine by the eye whether the rune is ᚴ, ᚱ, or ᛒ. In a few instances Mr. Leisk's transcript differs from that of Mr. Farrer; and in these cases I think the context is generally in favour of the former.

No. I.

TEITR VIKINGR (FÓR) AKORBJARGAR TIL.

Teitus pirata (profectus est) ad Akonem.

"Teit the viking (travelled) to Acre."

Earl Ronald sailed on his expedition to the Holy Land in the autumn of 1152 with a fleet of fifteen ships. After spending the following winter in harbours on the coasts of France and Spain, his fleet anchored in the harbour of Acre in the summer of 1153. Teit was probably *styrimadr* of one of the earl's ships.

No. II.

ROLFR KOLBEINS SONR REIST RUNAR THISAR GART.

Rolfus Kolbeini filius sculpsit has runas pro Garto.

"Rolf, Kolbein's son, carved these runes to the memory of Gart."

GART or GERT is still a name by no means rare in the northern islands.

No. III. (No. 10 of Mr. Farrer's transcript.)

THORIR FÓRIR (or FORI IR).

Thorerus peregrinator.

"Thorer the traveller" (or "is a traveller").

No. IV. (F. No. 3.)

BRIG ODILT.

Brigo allodii dominus.

"Brig the Udaller."

Mr. Farrer's transcript of the runes is different from the above, and may be read BRIG HOK THENA, "Brig carved this," as Professor Stephens has rendered it.

No. V. (F. No. 4.)

VEMUNDR REIST.

Vemundus sculpsit (has runas).

"Vemund carved (these runes)."

The part of the stone which contained the concluding words of this inscription is broken off.

No. VI. (F. No. 13.)

THAT MAN SA TIRIG SEKI ATFO VIGAR FORIT A BROT. THRIM NOTTOM SVARF I BROTFOERD GALDR ANDALET.

Digitized by Google

Fig. 1.

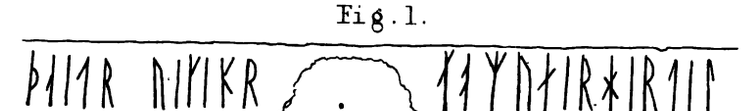


Fig. 2.

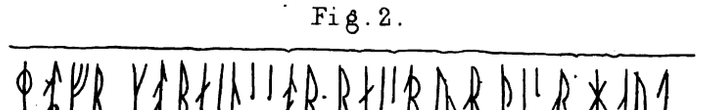


Fig. 3.

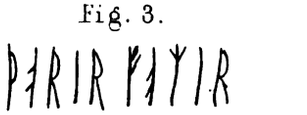


Fig. 4.

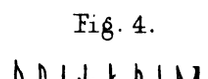


Fig. 5.

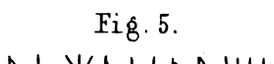


Fig. 6.

Floor

Fig. 7.

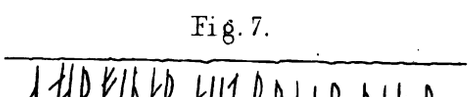


Fig. 8.

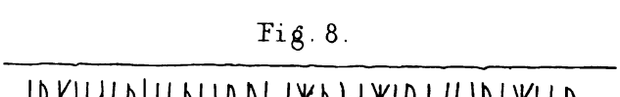


Fig. 9.

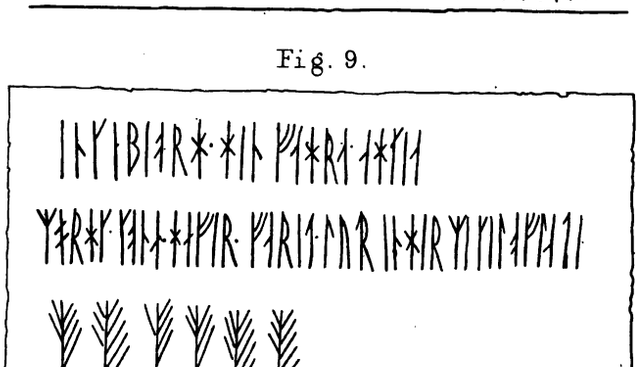


Fig. 10.

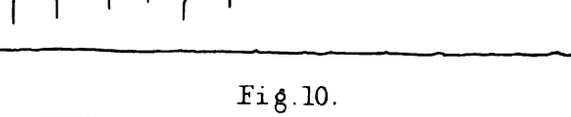
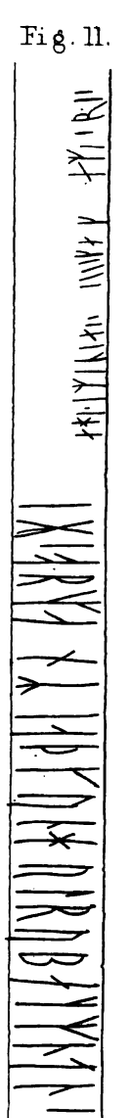


Fig. 11.



Floor

Fig. 12.

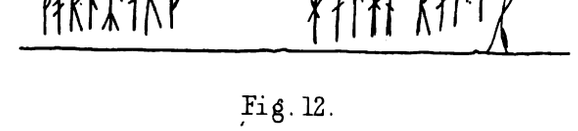


Fig. 13.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Fig. 14.

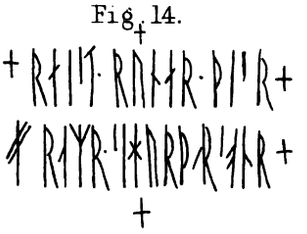


Fig. 15.

Fig. 16.

Fig. 17.

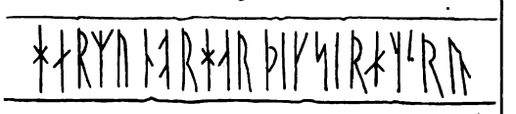


Fig. 18.

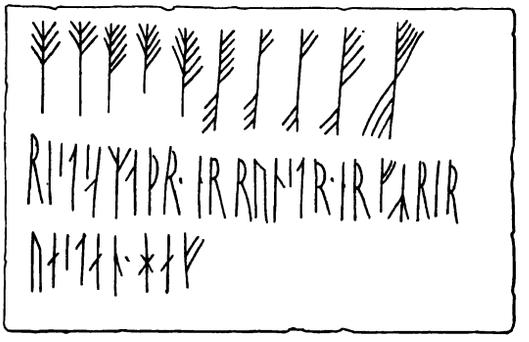


Fig. 19.

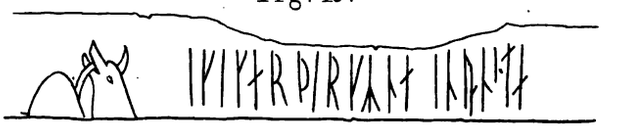
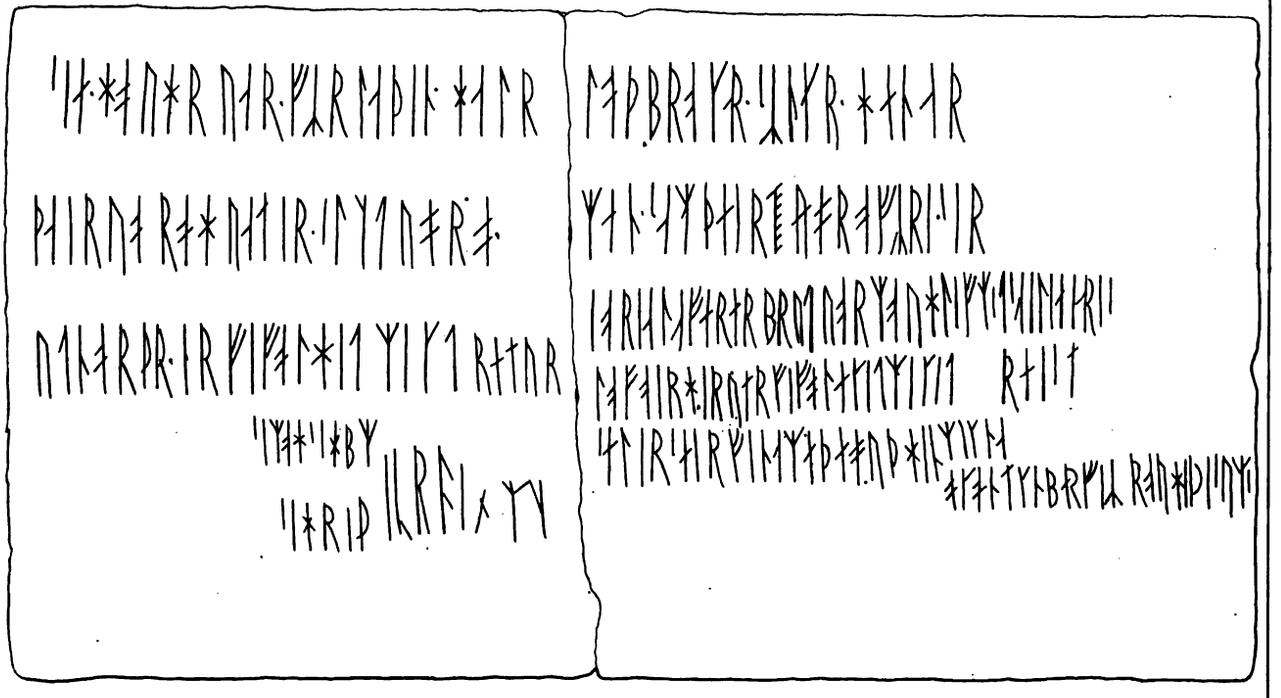


Fig. 20.

Fig. 21.



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Iste homo quem Tirigus reum fecit Atfii homicidii, abiit peregre (in exilium). Tres noctes deliquium passus est, et in exilio amens mortuus est.

"That fellow whom Tirig convicted of the murder of Atfi, went abroad (was banished.) While in banishment, he was three nights in a state of unconsciousness and died mad."

This inscription is written in *wend* runes, and appears to be unconnected with any of the other inscriptions. Mr. Farrer's transcript has ATFE VAR, but a stereoscopic view of the inscription shews unmistakably ATFO VIGAR, VIG being expressed by the *bind* rune. Is ATFO a mistake for ALFO?

No. VII. (F. No. 12.)

OTARFINER RIST RUNIR THISAR.

Otarfinnus sculpsit runas has.

"Otarfin carved these runes."

No. VIII. (F. No. 6.)

ORKA SONR SAGDI RUNOR THEIRIR, HAN ER ORA ER.

Orki filius incidit runas has, ille qui Ora est.

"Ora the son of Ork cut these runes."

SAGDI, the præterite of SAGA, to cut, which is frequently to be met with in Runic inscriptions instead of RIST and REIST.

The latter part of this inscription is given differently by Mr. Farrer. Instead of HAN ER ORA ER, he has HAN RISTU; and these four words are the conclusion of another inscription which Mr. Leisk has omitted. Part of it is illegible; and what is legible is unintelligible.

No. IX. (F. No. 8.)

INGIBJORG HIN FAGRA, AKKIA MORKA KONA, HEFIR FARIT: LYTR INGIR, MIKIL OFLATI, ÆRLIGR.

Ingiborga, pulchra dicta, Akki Morka (fusci) uxor, mortua est: vitiis expers, gestu decora, ortu honesta.

"Ingiborg the fair, the wife of Akki the dark, is gone: a lady of faultless character, of graceful manners, and of honourable descent."

This is a model of an epitaph—concise, comprehensive, and elegant.

HEFIR FARIT, has deceased. The verb FARA often signifies *perire, mori.* The past participle of the English verb to go, which is the synonym of FARA, is used exactly in the same sense.

LYTR INGIR. LYTE, *vitium, deformitas,* denotes either a defect in morals or a personal deformity. In the latter sense, the expression might be translated "faultless beauty."

OFLATI occurs very frequently in the personal descriptions in the Sagas. Sometimes it denotes a person fond of finery in dress—a dandy; sometimes, a person of ceremonious

Digitized by Google

and overstrained politeness ; and sometimes a person of really elegant manners. The fair Ingiborg, who has been very uncourteously treated by the northern professors, is entitled to the most favourable interpretation.

AERLIGR. Professor Stephens has read the *lim* runes which form this word, but he has overlooked the meaning of the word itself, which is the more surprising as *aerlig* is retained in both the new languages of Scandinavia. In Danish, especially, it is in constant use, and in the same sense as our word "honourable," when it means a title of courtesy derived either from birth or from office. The first *lim* rune is *a*, but the oblique stroke across the stem makes it also *e*, thus forming at once a *lim* and a *bind* rune =æ.

No. X. (F. No. 9.)

THORNR SART GALGE REIST.

Thornerus niger furcam sculpsit (vel erexit.)

"Thorner the swarthy carved (or erected) the gallows."

SART and SERT are to be found in many Runic inscriptions instead of SVART. A figure intended to represent a gibbet is placed after the inscription.

No. XI. (F. No. 14.)

AN SORGA NY JATKUN HULR UP ALMATES RO I.

Sine dolore nunc Jatkunna requiescit supra in Omnipotentiæ pace.

"Free from sorrow, Jatkun now rests in the peace of Omnipotence above : *i.e.*, enjoys eternal rest in heaven."

The first part of this inscription is very indistinct, but it certainly is not written in *wend* runes, and has no connexion with No. 13 of Mr. Farrer's print. HULR I have supposed to be intended for HUILR. The oblique strokes of the two last vowels in ALMATES are the only objection to the above reading ; but these may be accidental marks, or they may be mistakes made in the original cutting.

There is a second inscription on this stone, in a smaller character, and partly obliterated. The following is the legible portion of it :—

AKI ARINSONR . . .	(*J*) ARLS RIS.
Akius Arni filius . . .	*comitis iter.*
"Akki Arnson . . .	the earl's voyage."

Was this the husband of the fair Ingiborg ?

No. XII. (F. No. 22.)

This is a calendar for the month of February. The signs, abbreviations, and numerals, when written *in extenso*, are as follows :—

Digitized by Google

TUNGL OLD VII. SUNNUDAGR V.	*Numerus Aureus VII.*
KINDELMESS SUNNUDAGR.	*Litera Dominicalis E.*
FULVAXIT TUNGL. SUNNUDAGR.	*Festum Purificationis die Solis.*
SUNNAN I FISKUM.	*Plenilunium die Solis.*
MATTIASMESS TUNGL NY.	*Sol in Piscibus.*
	Festo Mathiæ Novilunium.

"Golden Number, VII.
Dominical Letter, E.
Candlemas on Sunday.
Full Moon on Sunday.
The Sun in *Pisces*.
New Moon on St. Mathias' Day."

From the establishment of christianity in Norway and its dependencies, down to the seventeenth century, the coincidence of the golden number Seven, and the dominical letter E, has occurred only three times, namely, in the years 1203, 1298, and 1393. It may be assumed very confidently that the first of these years is the date of this calendar. It was probably intended to record the date of the inscription which mentions the fellow-travellers of Earl Ronald, his canonization, and the erection of the chambers.

It may be necessary to explain, that in Runic calendars the dominical letters are denoted by numerals. Thus ᛋ, the fifth letter of the Runic alphabet, corresponds with E of the Roman alphabet. In like manner, the days of the week are indicated by the seven first numerals repeated throughout the month. Thus ᚠ (which in this calendar takes the form ᚡ) is Sunday, ᚢ is Monday, and so on.

No. XIII. (F. 21.)

ARNFIDR REIST RUNAR THISAR SONR STAIN DRUKKN, (THIT.)

Arnfinnus sculpsit runas has in memoriam filii Steini suffocati.

"Arnfin carved these runes to the memory of his son Stein who was drowned."

No. XIV. (F. No. 11.)

REIST RUNAR THISAR
OF—RAMR SIGURDAR SONR.

Sculpsit runas has valde robustus vel robusti Sigurdi filius.

"The powerful son of Sigurd carved these runes."

or,

"The son of Sigurd the strong carved these runes." Is this intended for an alliterative couplet?

Digitized by Google

No. XV. (F. No. 15.)

ARNFIDR MATR REIST RUNAR THESAR.

Arnfinnus, præstans dictus, sculpsit runas has.

"Arnfin the excellent carved these runes."

MATR, *excellens, præstans, mactus.*

No. XVI. (F. No. 16.)

MED DEIRI (DYRI) OKSI RATI KRUGR TRANILS SONR FYRIR SUNAN LAND.

Cum venerando Oksio Krugius Tranilii filius peragravit australes regiones.

"Along with the respected Oksi, Krugi Tranilson travelled through (or in) southern lands."

OKSI or OXI is certainly a proper name; and from the epithet applied to this person he is probably the SIR OKSI the priest, mentioned in No. XXI.

RATI or RATTI, the preterite of RATA, to travel.

KORUGR. The *o* in this word seems to have been originally cut by mistake. The scores across the rune were probably made to show that it was obliterated, and a small *r.* has been inserted instead of it. KRUGI or HRUGI, was a common Scandinavian name.

No. XVII. (F. No. 17.)

HERMUNDR HAR THIESIR REIST RUN(AR.)

Hermundus sculpsit has runas.

"Hermund has carved these runes."

The letters AR are wanting to form the plural.

No. XVIII. (F. No. 18.)

THISAR RUNAR

RIST SA MADR ER RUNSTR ER FYRIR VESTAN HAF.

Has runas sculpsit iste vir qui runographus est in (vel pro) regione occidentali.

"These runes that man carved who is runographer in (or for) the western lands."

VESTAN HAF, "the western sea," means the islands in the western ocean.

In Mr. Farrer's plate, SA MADR may be read SIGVATR, a proper name, which I am persuaded is the true reading. The only object of most of these inscriptions is to record the *name* of the person who cut the runes, and it is not likely that this RUNSTR should have studiously concealed his name. The propensity to scratch one's name on ancient monuments is at least as inveterate in the present age as it was in the twelfth century.

For the manner in which the *lim* runes in this inscription are read, see the explanation at page 2.

No. XIX. (F. No. 23.)

IGIGERDIR KYNA IN VENSTA

Ingigerda mulierum pulcherima.

"Ingigerd the most beautiful of women."

Digitized by Google

If UNSTA be read instead of VENSTA, the inscription will be, IGA GERDAR KYNA IN UNSTA. INGA GARDI UXOR DILECTISSIMA.

"Inga the dearly beloved wife of Gart."

No. XX. (F. No. 24.)

The latter part of this inscription is illegible. The two first words are TIGITIU AR, *centum anni*, "a hundred years."

No. XXI (F. Nos. 19, 20.)

The inscriptions on this slab are by far the most important in the collection. They are five in number, and are wholly unconnected with each other. The first is written across the whole slab, and occupies two lines and a half. The second is contained in three lines, very closely written, on the right of the vertical fissure. The third is written immediately after the preceding. The fourth and fifth are only names, and are written on the lower part of the slab, on the left of the fissure.

A.

SIA HOUGR VAR FYR LATIN HALR LODBROKAR SYNER. KENAR THEIR VORO OK HVATIR. SLET VORO MEN SEM THEIR VORO FYRI SIR UTNORDR. ERFI FOLGIT MIKIT. RETUR.

Hic tumulus fuit pro defuncti herois Lodbrokiifiliis. Prudentes et fortes fuerunt, nec non strenui. Vix extiterunt viri quales illi erant præ se in regione Caurinâ. Magna parentalia celebrata fuerunt.

"This sepulchral mound was (raised) for the sons of the deceased hero Lodbrock. They were wise, brave, and powerful. Scarcely have there ever been men such as they were in the north-west. Great funeral honours were paid to them.

If HALR be intended for HALIR, the meaning will be, "for the late heroes, the sons of Lodbrock." But if HALR be read as the old spelling of HOLR, which is exactly synonymous with HAUGR, then FYRLATIN must be read as one word, and the translation will be, "This barrow was the abandoned sepulchral mound of Lodbrock's sons." The only objection to the latter reading is a grammatical one: SYNER should be SYNA; but in these, as in almost all other Runic inscriptions, we meet with numerous solecisms in grammar.

Erfi, or ERFI OL, *parentalia*, funeral honours, a funeral feast. This was held by the Scandinavian nations of old to be an indispensable celebration. It was almost a legal institution; for, till the ERFI was celebrated, it was not lawful for the heir to occupy the "high seat" of the deceased, or to take possession of the inheritance. On the death of distinguished persons, these festivals *following* the interment, were often continued several days in succession, during which huge goblets were drained in honour of the deceased.

Digitized by Google

RETUR. This word has been added to the inscription by another hand, and in a smaller character. Some one may have thought the expression too elliptical, and may have intended to explain it by the addition of RIETUR, *symposium*, synonymous with OL. The words which I have translated "great funeral honours, etc.," seem to have been an established formula, as they occur a second time in the next inscription. The northern professors explain the expression as intimating that "here great treasure is buried." One objection to this interpretation is the fact, that where treasure was buried in the *haug* of the deceased, every precaution was taken to conceal it, and to preserve it from the sacralegious plunderer. Such an intimation as the above would, however, be an advertisement of the treasure deposited, and an invitation to violate the tomb in search of it.

If the Lodbrock mentioned in this epitaph was the famous Ragnar Lodbrock, the original erection of the barrow cannot have been much earlier than the latter part of the eighth century, or much later than the early part of the ninth; and it must in that case have been more than three hundred years old when the chambers containing these inscriptions were formed by Ada the wealthy, as we learn from the next epitaph.

The fame of Lodbrock's sons was not confined to "the North-west." They were the most renowned vikings of the age in which they lived, and were the scourges of every coast of Europe. Their connexion with Orkney was more intimate than Orcadians of the present day are perhaps aware of. We learn from Saxo Grammaticus, that Ragnar Lodbrock and his sons made two great expeditions to Orkney and the Hebrides; that they subjugated the whole of these islands, expelling or killing their rulers; that two of the sons were placed as rulers over the Hebrides, and that a third son, Fridleif by name, was made *ruler of Orkney*. In a third expedition to the west, two other sons of Lodbrock were slain in battle; and perhaps their bodies were transported to the family *haug* in Orkney.

B.

JORSALA FARAR BRUTU ORM OUK LIF MED SAILIA JARLI LOFOIR GERU. ERFI FOLEGIT MIKIT. REIST SALIR SA ARFI NAM ADA OUD HIN MIKLA.

Ad Hierosolymas peregrini Ormerus ac Leifus, cum beato Comite, vota persolverunt. Magna parentalia celebrata fuerunt. Erexit cameras, quæ hæreditatem cepit, Ada prædives.

"The Jerusalem pilgrims, Orm and Leif, along with the blessed Earl, fulfilled their vows. Great funeral honours were paid to them. Ada the wealthy, who succeeded to the inheritance, erected these chambers."

The epithet SAILIA (SŒLA) applied to the Earl, would seem to imply that he was canonized before this inscription was carved. If so, it must date not earlier than the

Digitized by Google

very last decade of the twelfth century; for though Earl Ronald was murdered in 1159, he was not canonized till 1192. The chambers, no doubt, had been erected somewhat earlier.

LOFOIR GERU for LOFIR GERDU. ERFI FOLGIT MIKIT. This is the same formula as in the preceding epitaph—literally, *symposium hæreditarium magnum secutum est* (sepulturam). FOLGIT is the past participle, used instead of the præterite, of which No. 6 furnishes a similar instance.

ADA is ADAN in Mr. Farrer's transcript.

This inscription, which informs us that the chambers were erected by a lady, explains the name of the structure, and shows that tradition has been faithful in handing it down long after it had ceased to be understood. MAES HOW is the MAIDEN'S MOUND; Islandic MEY, MAY, MÆY, *virgo*, a maid; and HAUGR, Scotch HOW, *tumulus*, a sepulchral mound. MEY, a maid, is also Scotch.

C.

OKON TANR ARFIR ROUGI THISUM

Okon Dentatus hæres est tumuli hujus.

"Okon *of the tooth* inherits this mound."

B in this inscription seems a mistake, it is probably *R* in the original.

This inscription must have been carved before the preceding one, the last word of which had to be formed of runes half the length of the rest of the inscription, in order to avoid interfering with the previous writing.

D.

SIR OKSI H. PR. (HINN PRESTR).

Dominus Oksius, sacerdos.

"Sir Oksi the Priest."

SIR or SIRA was long used as the designation of a clergyman, as *Reverend* is at present.

E.

SIGRA IN ROSKRA. *Sigrida grandæva.*

"Sigrid the aged."

Nos. XXII and XXIII are a Wolf and a Worm-knot.

Digitized by Google

ANCIENT CAMPS, EARTHWORKS, AND FORTIFICATIONS IN DEVON.

BY

GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ., F.S.A. Scot., V.P.

FEW districts of England contain so many examples of ancient camps, earthworks, and entrenchments as the county of Devon. In the list appended to this paper no less than eighty of these fortifications are enumerated, from the descriptions of them which have been preserved in the local histories. Some of these appear to have been destroyed by the operations of agricultural improvement even before the time of Polwhele and Lysons; but, on the other hand, no attempt has been made to record individually the numerous and most interesting fortifications on Dartmoor, which would not only compensate for the loss referred to, but increase the amount of the total number in the county by a very considerable addition.

The visit of the Association to a district so fertile in this class of antiquities, would seem to render appropriate a short summary of the progress which this branch of archæology has made of late years. Previous to the establishment of this Association, and the kindred bodies, both general and local, which have sprung from it, the ideas of antiquaries on this subject appear to have been of the most vague character. All camps and intrenchments that could by any means be tortured into a square or rectangular form were considered Roman, while the others were described as British or Danish according to the fancy of the individual. None of them were ever referred to the time of the great struggle between the Romano-British and the Saxons, which was constantly ignored.

Since the date referred to, this branch of archæology has been reduced to a scientific system, founded upon correct views of the evidence which has come down to us, regarding the warlike tactics and manner of fortification adopted by the successive tribes and nations which occupied this island.

The following points may now be considered as, in a great measure, fixed and determined, although great care must be taken in applying any general rule derived from them to individual examples. Search should in each instance be made for any reliques found near the intrenchment, and the particular features of the locality be carefully examined, before any definite opinion as to the date of the fortification is formed.

Digitized by Google

In regard to the strongholds of the early British previous to the Roman invasion, our information is very limited. The instances in which the arms, ornaments, and utensils of these tribes have been found, in such a position as to render it evident that they must have belonged to the garrison of the fortress, have been of very rare occurrence. We are, therefore, forced to rely almost entirely on the meagre descriptions given by Cæsar and Tacitus of the intrenchments which the Roman forces encountered. Although these descriptions are very general, and do not enter into details, they nevertheless furnish sufficient data to enable us to arrange the camps of the ancient British in three distinct and well marked classes, each of which represents a separate system of fortification, viz. :—

1st. The fortresses which Cæsar met with in the south-eastern counties. These appear to have owed their strength chiefly to the natural features of the country, having been situated in dense woods and surrounded by swamps and morasses. Their artificial defences consisted in some cases of a ditch and rampart, and in others of abbatis. As a large number of sheep and cattle were collected for security within these intrenchments they were most probably of a large size. [*De bello Gallico*, lib. v, c. 9, 21.]

2ndly. The strongholds of the Iceni in Norfolk and Suffolk. These, according to Tacitus, were surrounded by a weak *(agrestis)* rampart, surmounted by a quick-set hedge. [*Annal.*, xii, 31.]

3rdly. The stone forts of the western counties, which proved such formidable obstacles to the legions in the campaign between Ostorius and Caractacus. [*Annal.*, xii, 33, 33.]

The two former of these classes are, from their construction, peculiarly liable to be destroyed in the progress of cultivation, and in consequence it is a very rare event indeed to meet with an existing example of either of these types. Not having had the pleasure of visiting Devonshire, it is not in my power to state whether any instances of them are to be met with in that county. Certainly they are not to be found among any of the camps which the local historians have fully described, but in the case of half of those enumerated by these writers, the description is so meagre, that it is impossible to ascertain anything of the character of the fortification.

Examples of the third class are much more frequent, although many of them have been destroyed for the sake of the material. They present considerable varieties in their construction. In the earliest and rudest form the rampart consisted of stones heaped together without any attempt at arrangement, and, in the same manner as an earthwork, presented a sloping face both to the exterior and interior of the fortification. Afterwards it was seen that the rampart would be much stronger if the side towards the enemy were made perpendicular ; the stones in the outward face were in consequence regularly built up, while in the interior this facing was backed up by loose fragments, as in the earlier

Digitized by Google

camps. Ultimately both faces were built perpendicular, when the *enceinte* assumed the character of a wall. This led to the construction of those singular edifices, the Pictish Burghs of the Orkney and Shetland Islands. Although the fact that the stones in many of these camps had been regularly built has been known for a considerable period, Sir Gardner Wilkinson was the first who directed the attention of archæologists to the circumstance in a systematic manner, by a most able paper read during last winter's session of the Association.[1] From the description of the fortifications of Caractacus preserved by Tacitus, I am inclined to believe that they were of the earlier and ruder type. The historian states that the ramparts were constructed in the manner of a *vallum*, not of a wall, which would seem to imply that the face of the work was in the form of a slope. The expression "rude and unformed collections of stones," *rudes et informes saxorum compages*, could only be applied to an irregular bank, while the verb *præstruit* is inconsistent with any attempt at systematic building having been adopted. From this circumstance I think it probable, that the more skilfully built stone forts were erected at a period subsequent to the Roman invasion. Another curious feature is occasionally met with in these forts. In those cases the defences consist of an outer and inner rampart, which are at intervals connected by transverse walls. Access to the spaces thus cut off could only have been obtained by escalade. Something of the same kind occasionally occurs when the defences consist of earthworks, of which a Devonshire example appears to occur at Berry Castle, near Woolfardisworthy. The reasons which induced this singular mode of construction have still to be discovered. Indeed, the whole subject of these forts is one well worthy the attention of archæologists. Independent of numerous instances of the stone class of fortress to be found on Dartmoor, Devonshire possesses two most interesting examples in the fortifications at Cranbrook Castle and Grimspound, of both of which a description will be found in the subjoined list.

The last twenty years have exhibited a similar progress in the scientific arrangement of the camps and earthworks belonging to the Roman period. The old idea that they were necessarily rectangular has been completely exploded. Indeed, the only wonder is that it held its ground so long, when we remember that Vegetius, in his treatise *De re Militari*, has expressly stated in two separate passages, that although a rectangular form, in which the length exceeds the breadth by a third, should be preferred whenever the locality was suitable, the site of a camp ought always to be selected from the facilities it affords for obtaining water and forage and the strength of the position, and that when these are secured, the entrenchment should be constructed in the form which is most appropriate to the nature of the ground. The evidence on which we must now rely in determining whether a particular fortification is Roman or otherwise, consists

[1] *Journal* for March 1861, vol. xvii, pp. 1-8.

Digitized by Google

of the discovery of articles manufactured by that nation, in such a position that they *must* have belonged to the garrison of the camp; its connection with the lines of the Roman roads, and the amount of engineering skill displayed in the construction of the defences, and the selection of the site. A still more important step, however, in the classification of these fortifications, was the introduction of the distinction now made between the works of the different periods of the Roman occupation of the island: our older antiquaries treated the whole of their camps as contemporaneous. It is, however, evident that their position in the country was very different at successive periods. At first they appeared as an invading and expeditionary army, and, according to their usual custom, intrenched their successive halting places. These camps are generally large, and as their site was determined by the exigencies of the campaign, are often found at a distance from the lines of road afterwards formed. The second period comprises the interval between their conquest of the district and the final subjugation of the native tribes, who continued to be prone to rise in insurrection. To secure their acquisitions the Romans at this time formed roads to lay open the country, and, in order to secure these communications, constructed *præsidia*, *castella* or forts. These are usually of smaller size than the camps of the former period, are more varied in form, and are invariably found in connexion with the roads. The third period arrived when the Roman dominion was fully established and resistance had ceased. It is marked by the erection of stations and fortified towns occupied by a mixed civil and military population. To this era would also belong the intrenchments which the classic authors describe as *campum estivum*, to which the garrison of the station was removed in the summer months. But we must recollect that, although such a change might be requisite in the warm plains of Italy, it would not be so necessary in our colder climate. No mention of them as existing in Britain occurs in Tacitus, and, in my pretty large experience of camps, I certainly have never met with an example, unless it were some slight intrenchments on Lansdown, overlooking the Roman station at Bath, the well known *Acqua Solis*. Polwhele attributes this character to two Devonshire camps, viz., one at Killerton, and another at Nacker's Hole, near Taunton; and Lysons, to one about two miles distant from Molland Bottreaux. I strongly suspect, however, that when these are fully investigated, it will be found that they are the original post, which was afterwards transferred to the more suitable locality occupied by the station, of whose garrison they are supposed to have formed the summer quarters, and that they, in this respect, resemble the camp which the Association visited during the Newbury Congress on the crest of the hill above Speen Church, where *Spinae*, the ultimate station, evidently lay in the valley below. The fourth period of the Roman occupation occurred when the country, having become perfectly settled and secure, detached villas were erected.

Digitized by Google

Devonshire is peculiarly rich in instances of Roman camps and stations. Exclusive of Exeter, the subjoined list embraces no less than twenty-seven fortresses, which I have no hesitation in assigning to that nation. These, however, include several, viz., Bellbury, Denbury, and Dumpton Fort, which the local historians have ascribed to other tribes, but which I would attribute to the Roman legions, from the description of them given by these authors themselves.

I have already adverted to the fact that, till very lately, antiquaries have overlooked the existence of any camps constructed by the Romano-British. Is it, however, probable, that during the prolonged contests between them and the Saxons, which, in fact, continued for several centuries, military works of this class were not constructed? Recent excavations have brought to light fragments of pottery and other articles belonging to this period, which must have appertained to the defenders of several most remarkable intrenchments, including those of Cisbury and others on the south downs of Sussex. The characteristics of this class of intrenchments are, the adoption by the later British of many of the plans of fortifications which they derived from the Roman instructors, especially in regard to the defences of the gates; the generally great extent of the *enceinte*, which was calculated to protect, not only the garrison, but large herds of cattle; and certain curious pits or hollows, which appear to have been used as pounds or enclosures for the animals. Judging from the account of the local historians, I am inclined, although (except in the second instance), with some hesitation, to ascribe to this period four of the Devonshire camps, viz., Braunton, Cudbury, Milberdown, and Musberry.

We are comparatively in the dark as to the nature of the defences employed in their camps by the Saxons and the Danes; but there appears to be no doubt that it was during the period of their contests in the reign of Alfred, that an entirely new style of fortress was introduced, which I may designate as that of the "danejohn" or dungeon type. It consisted of a mound, which was occupied as a citadel, surrounded by earthworks, of varying forms, enclosing outer courtyards or areas. When first introduced, ancient sepulchral tumuli appear to have been used for the citadels; but when the type became common, and nothing of this kind could be obtained convenient, mounds were purposely erected, and with the view of saving labour and materials, these were often constructed in the form a hollow crater. These earthworks were afterwards made the site of the foundation of the walls, first of later Saxon, and subsequently of Norman castles. From the frequent mention made in the Icelandic *Sagas*, of such a trifling eminence as a hay stack having been used as a post of vantage by the heroes of these tales, I am inclined to attribute to this class of fortress a Danish origin. In some instances we meet with double and even triple citadels. To this type of fortification belong some of the most important mediæval strongholds of England, including Windsor; Old Sarum, and Marl-

Digitized by Google

borough, in Wilts; Lewes and Bramber, in Sussex; Castle Acre, Castle Rising, and Thetford, in Norfolk; and many others. As far as I can judge, from the descriptions in the local historians, I should refer five of the Devonshire camps to this type, viz., Bladdown or Blackadon; Hembury Fort, in the parish of Buckfastleigh; Okehampton; Plympton, which appears to be similar to that at Thetford; and Stansbury.

In conclusion, I am most anxious to direct the attention of the members of the Congress to a small earthwork on Uffculm Down, mentioned by Lysons under the name of "Pixy Garden."[1] He describes it as being "twenty yards square, formed by banks two feet high. Divided into four compartments like a parterre. In the middle of each an oval raised bank. The square is open at the corners." An account of an earthwork so singular and unique I have never before met with, and I shall be delighted to hear that the present Devonshire Congress has been able to throw some light upon its origin and the purpose which it was intended to serve.

DEVONSHIRE.

DAMNONII VEL DUMNONII.	AUTHORITIES.	CAMPS.
APPLEDORE	Lysons' *Mag. Brit.*, vi, p. 352	Two forts of small dimensions, about two furlongs apart, called Hennaborough and Godborough.
	Polwhele, *Devon*, p. 186	First, two-thirds larger area than second, but ditch of second better marked; the first has its accessible part on E.
BELBURY or BELLBURY	Camden, *Britannia*, i,32	Small oval, near Otterley.
	Lysons, vi, p. 350	Oval. Single trench, 400 by 200 ft. same width through most of its length.
	Polwhele, p. 187	Oval. E. to W., 200 yards, N. to S. 100. Approach on S. side, where it declines into a small valley. Double ditch for 50 yards beyond great earthwork, which is only a single entrenchment. Inside almost a plain, but rising to the centre.
BERRY CASTLE, WITHERIDGE	Lysons, vi, p. 315	Roman camp, 5 miles beyond Woolfardisworthy. Square. Situated on an eminence over the Dart, commanding view over Molland to borders of Exmoor.
	Lysons, vi, p. 349	Between Exeter and Molland.
	———, vi, p. 353	Square area, two-thirds acre.
	Polwhele, p. 190	On a hill, round which flows the Dart. Roman road leading into it. Has an inner fortification.
BERRY CASTLE, WOOLFARDISWORTHY	Lysons, vi, p. 315	Circular. British.
	———, vi, p. 353	Circular. Area, 2 acres.
	Polwhele, p. 190	Divided into two parts, each containing *exactly* an acre, by a kind of half bank perpendicular to N., but sloped to S., divided not by a straight line, but by the arc of a large circle, double the diameter of the vallum. To make an equal division in this manner requires high mathematical knowledge.
BERY HEAD	Lysons, vi, p. 351	A promontory fort, projecting into Torbay, walled, probably constructed by Romans. Roman coins found.

[1] On this subject the reader is referred to Mr. P. O. Hutchinson's paper in the *Journal* of the Association for March 1862, p. 63.

Digitized by Google

BERRY NARBER -	Lysons, vi, p. 352 -	Half a mile from the coast, small circular work, called the Castle.
BLACKBURY CAMP -	Camden, i, p. 32 -	Above Wiscomb.
BLADDOWN, or BLACKADON -	———, i, p. 32 -	Parish of Lodeswell, old camp of singular form. Danish. Plan of it in *Archæologia*, 1754.
	Lysons, vi, p. 351 -	Irregular oval, 1,000 by 500 feet, said to contain 11 acres. The *keep* at N.W. corner is about 10 feet higher than the vallum. On the S. and E., the vallum is double and irregular.
	Polwhele, p. 189 -	Works within works. On inside at the highest spot (for the ground is sloping), and adjoining the foss are very irregular mounds. This inner work is also surrounded by a deep circular foss, and does not occupy the 10th of an acre.
BORRINGDON -	Polwhele, *Cornwall*, i, 76	A remarkable camp of no great size.
	Lysons, vi, p. 312 -	Circular camp.
BRADBURY -	Lysons, vi, p. 322 -	Between Exeter and Stratton. Roman.
	———, vi, p. 352 -	Three miles from Bratton Clovelly church, rectangular, oblong square, single vallum, foss 25 feet wide. Area within vallum, N. to S. 225 feet, E. to W. 186 (3 yds.).
	Polwhele, *Devon*, p. 186	Four gates.
BRANBURY -	Grose, *Antiquities* -	Near Okehampton.
BRATTONDOWN -	Lysons, vi, p. 352 -	Parish of Bratton Fleming.
BRAUNTON -	———, vi, p. 352 -	A camp on a hill, it is called the Castle. Area 4 acres. On the N., which is the only accessible side, a large vallum with foss.
BRENT TORR -	Polwhele, p. 186 -	Simply fortified, but strong by nature.
BURRIDGE WOOD -	Lysons, vi, p. 353 -	Double vallum. Width of both ditches together, 30 feet. Circular. Area not exceeding a quarter of an acre.
CADBURY -	Camden, i, p. 35 -	Buterleigh parish, fortified eminence.
	Grose - -	Canbury, near Cudbury.
	Lysons, vi, p. 352 -	Oblong, 560 yards circumference, vallum 25 to 30 feet high. An area elevated above the foss, by a slope of 20 feet. Length of this from N. to S. about 100 paces. Towards S.E. a pit 6 feet deep, by 12 wide.
	Polwhele, p. 187 -	Is situated in a very hilly country, and stands on the highest hill in the neighbourhood, which rises boldly from the N. and S., more gradually from the W., but with an easy acclivity of 300 yards from the E. Oblong. Summit of hill a mound, from twenty-five to thirty feet high. External circumference 560 yards. A foss, from W. and W. by S., continuing by S. to N. and N. by E., terminating at a ditch in the mound. It is 240 paces long, and at most places 18 feet broad. At S.S.E. in the fosse is a heap of loose stones and earth, apparently remains of some erection to guard an opening in the principal mound opposite to it. The area of mound is elevated above the fosse by a slope of 20 feet. Its diameter from S. to N. is 100 yards. Length from end of fosse at N.N.E., round the mound by N., to the beginning of the fosse at W. is 140 yards. Towards S.W., a pit 6 feet deep and 12 wide at the top. It may have been sunk for a reservoir, or the foundation of a stone building.
CASTLE DYKE -	Polwhele, p. 188 -	Half mile E. of town of Cudleigh, in Lord Clifford's Park, a circular, or rather elliptical simple fortification, with mound and ditch. Fine smooth area. From top of mound to bottom of ditch, average fall 30 feet. Area, N. to S., 300 yards, E. to W. 230. Three entrances on N.S. and E. A little distance towards the S. there seems to be an unfinished outer camp. In front of S. Gate of main camp, a deep bold outwork. The measurement of its mound and ditch is the same as that of the main camp. This outwork proceeds in a direct line towards the E. It loses its ditch as the declivity lessens, and sinks into a hollow way. Still further to the E. it seems to emerge out of the hollow way. A bank on N. side, but level with the rest of the ground on the S.
	Lysons, vi, p. 351 -	In Ugebrook, irregular oval, 780 by 580 feet.
	———, p. 312 -	British.

Digitized by Google

CASTLE WOOD -	Lysons, vi, p. 350 -	Parish of Widworthy, earthwork near church.
CHARLES, parish of	———, vi, p. 352 -	Circular (mentioned by Dean Mills).
CHUMLEIGH BEACON DOWN -	———, vi, p. 353 -	A camp and several barrows.
CLOVELLY DYKES -	Camden, i, p. 38 -	Largest Roman camp in the county; three strong treble entrenchments, but no trace of Roman roads from it.
	Lysons, vi, p. 321 -	Irregular, surrounded by three deep ditches, more likely to be Saxon than either Roman or British; the Danes had not time to erect it.
	———, vi, p. 351 -	Called also Dickenhills. Two miles from British channel, situated on very high ground, commanding the only practicable road along the N.W. coast of Devon. Three great trenches, about 18 feet deep. Inner trench a regular parallelogram, 360 feet by 300. The second and third irregular in form, the ditches being sometimes straight, sometimes curved. The outer one about 1,260 feet in diameter. Also some outworks. Whatever was its origin, it was occupied and improved by the Romans, as a defence against invaders from Ireland.
	Polwhele, p. 186 -	Bold and extensive.
CONTESBURY -	Lysons, vi, p. 315 -	On coast, near Linton. Undoubtedly Roman; communication with Northern Channel of great importance to Isca, whether to Britons or Romans.
	———, p. 322 -	On Northern Channel; Roman.
	———, p. 549 -	Near Bratton, Clovelly.
CRANBROOKE CASTLE	Lysons, vi, p. 353 -	Near Moreton Hampstead; irregular area of 6 or 7 acres; double ditch on S., single ditch on W., none on N. or E.
	Polwhele, p. 189 -	Made of moor stone without cement.
DADDON - -	Lysons, vi, p. 352 -	Remains of an encampment.
	Polwhele, p. 186 -	Roman.
DARTINGTON -	———, p. 188 -	Circular work.
DENBURY -	Grose - -	Near Newton Bushel.
	Lysons, vi. p. 322 -	Not the Devonissa of Ravennas.
	———, p. 351 -	Half mile from Church, nearly oval, 8 acres. According to another account, 200 paces E. to W., 180 N. to S. On S. and E., double foss of considerable depth. On W. and N., little vestiges of any.
	Polwhele, p. 188 -	200 paces by 180, surrounded by an inner mound, the vestiges of which are almost lost in some places. On the W., at the distance of 70 paces, an outer mound commences, which, as it proceeds towards the S., approaches the inner one and forms a considerable ditch, which is continued on the S. and E., but on the N. the traces, if any, are very faint.
DOLBERRY -	Camden, i, p. 35 -	On a hill, which answers to Calbury, at the distance of a few miles.
DUMPTON FORT -	Lysons, vi, p. 350 -	Parish of Suppit; irregular oval, on tongue of ridge, stretching from Blackdown. Double entrenchment on the only accessible side; extreme length of inner area, 1,000 feet, breadth 350.
DURPLEIGH CASTLE	———, vi, p. 353 -	Ancient earthwork in parish of Shebbeare.
EGGERDON, near HEMBURY -	———, vi, 318 -	Irregular; no antiquities found. Looks more British than Roman. Probably the *Dunium* of *Ptolomey*, if Maiden Castle, near Dorchester, has not a better claim.
FILLEIGH CASTLE -	Grose -	Near Moulton.
GRIMSPOUND -	Lysons, vi, p. 306 -	Parish of Manerton under Hameldown; circular. Romano-British. Area, 3 acres; low vallum of loose stones, some of which are very large, being the remains of a wall. Two opposite entrances on N. and S., the wall there is 12 feet thick. Within are numerous small circles of stone, generally 12 feet in diameter. The greater part are near the S. side of the enclosure. Been variously conjectured to have been a place of religious worship, or a British town connected with the tin works.
GODBURGH. See APPLEDORE.		

Digitized by Google

HACCOMBLE -	Polwhele -	Small square earthwork.
LITTLE HADDON -	Lysons, vi, p. 351 -	Parish of Ashcombe, circular area; one-half acre.
HAMDEN HILL -	Polwhele, *Cornwall*, i, p. 75 -	Double ditch.
HARTLAND POINT -	———, *Devon*, p. 186 -	A Roman station.
	Lysons, vi, p. 321 -	Supposed *Artavia* of Richard Cirencester—*Mosteria* Ravennas.
HEMBURY -	Camden, i, p. 32 -	One of a chain of camps, once Roman, afterwards Danish, between Exeter and Honiton. Square; like Maiden Castle in Dorsetshire, probably *Mondunum*.
	Lysons, vi, p. 310 -	An antique Lar of iron found in 1801.
	———, p. 312 -	British fort.
	———, p. 350 -	Nearly of the form of an irregular oval, entirely surrounded by a double entrenchment. Inner area 1,150 feet by 450.
	Polwhele, p. 183 -	On the summit of a high hill, double rampart. It consists of two parts, one for the horse the other for the foot. Two prætoria visible in each. In the eastern part there are the foundations of an old wall running E. and W.
HEMBURY FORT, parish of BUCKFASTLEIGH -	Lysons, vi, p. 351 -	On the brow of Hembury Hill; somewhat circular; area nearly 7 acres; at the N. end a prætorium, 44 feet by 17.
	Polwhele, p. 188 -	Area, $6\frac{3}{4}$ acres 23 perches. A round prætorium, 44 feet by 17, which is at the N., on the highest ground, so as to command the country. There are five or six passages to the prætorium from different parts of the camp; but the fosses having been destroyed, these cannot be accurately traced; oval stones have been dug up, supposed to have been used for their slings by the British.
HENNABURGH. See APPLEDORE.		
HOLCOMB, BURNELL, parish of -	Lysons, vi, p. 353 -	Small camp.
HOLWELL CASTLE -	———, vi, p. 352 -	A long entrenchment.
HONEY DITCHES, near SEATON -	Camden, i, p. 38 -	An oblong moated camp of 3 acres, mentioned by Stukely, but the traces of it lost.
	Lysons, vi, p. 319 -	Stukely, mentions a square camp, stony ditches, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to W. of Seaton, but there are no traces of this now, (1822).
KILLERTON -	———, vi, p. 322 -	In Sir Thomas Acland's park. Roman coins found.
	Polwhele, p. 186 -	Camp. Summer station to Isca.
LAMBERT'S CASTLE -	———, *Cornwall*, i, 75	Near Axminster.
LEATHORN CASTLE -	Lysons, vi, p. 353 -	In Colebrooke.
MARL or MARYPOOL	Polwhele, *Devon*, p. 186	Large circumvallation, half-a-mile north-east of Exeter.
MEMBURY -	Camden, i, p. 32 -	Roman, afterwards Danish.
	Lysons, vi, p. 349-50 -	Single vallum; area, 2 acres; within sight of Musbury and Oxendown, from each of which it is three miles distant.
MILBERDOWN, near NEWTON ABBOT	———, vi, p. 351 -	Elliptical; triple ditch; area six acres.
MOLLAND BOTTREAUX - -	———, vi, pp. 321 & 353	*Termolus* of Rich. Ciren. *Termonium* of Ravennas. An oblong encampment 200 yards by 90. Another, perfectly square, probably a summer camp, two miles distant.
SOUTH MOULTON -	———, vi, p. 353 -	A post.
	Polwhele, p. 190 -	Square, and of a large size.
NORTH MOULTON -	Lysons, vi, p. 353 -	Another post, on the summit of a high hill.
MOLLAND and SOUTH MOULTON -	Polwhele, p. 186 -	Between these places a beautiful camp, clearly Roman. [*Query* if the same as second camp mentioned by Lysons, *voce* Molland.]
MUCHERRY -	Camden, i, p. 32 -	Roman, afterwards Danish. Lies over the sea according to Ritson.
MUSBURY - -	Camden, i, p. 32 -	Roman, afterwards Danish.
	Grose, *voce Devon*. -	Near Clayton.
	Lysons, vi, p. 349-50 -	Area, 20 acres. A nearly elliptical double entrenchment, following

Digitized by Google

		the form of the ground on the extreme ridge of the hill, and only accessible on the N. The vallum has been injured by the plough. It is within sight of Membury and Oxendown, from each of which it is 3 miles distant.
NACKER'S HOLE -	Polwhele, *Cornwall*, i, 76	Small round. *Castrum estivum* to *Tameris*, now Tamerton.
NEWTON ABBOTT (see also MILBERDOWN for another camp near this) -	Lysons, vi, p. 312 -	British camp.
	———, p. 351 -	Oblong square; triple ditch; area, 112 yards by 90.
OKEHAMPTON -	Polwhele, *Devon*, p. 186	Summer station.
	———, pp. 144-5 -	Lines of beacons through Devonshire and Cornwall, which sometimes became afterwards the *keeps* of castles. The keep at Okehampton is probably of this nature, although it is said in Domesday that it was built by Baldwin de Brioniis, who was then in possession.
OXENDEN - -	Lysons, vi, pp. 349-50	On hill, near Exmouth, within sight of Membury and Musbury, from each of which it is three miles distant.
	Polwhele, p. 187 -	Oxendown, near Axmouth.
OXTON - -	Lysons, vi, p. 351 -	Nearly circular, 160 yards by 120. Another camp on Sir Lawrence Palk's estate.
PEHENBURY -	Camden, i, p. 32 -	Aubrey mentions Danish camp at Pekenburg, on Blackdown, near Columbstoke.
PIXY GARDEN -	Lysons, vi, p. 353 -	On Uffculme Down, singular small earthwork 20 yards square, formed by banks 2 ft. high. Divided into four compartments, like a parterre. In the middle of each an oval raised bank. The square is open at the corners.
PLYMPTON -	Polwhele, p. 145 -	Mount of earth thrown up by the Britons in a pyramidal form, 200 feet in circumference, 70 feet in height; on the top it has a circular wall.
POSBURY - -	Lysons, vi, 353 -	In Tedbury St. Mary, on line of road from Exeter to Crediton and Molland.
PRESTONBURY CASTLE	Lysons, vi, 353 -	On the brow of a precipice over the Teign, with vallum and deep broad foss on east side.
	Polwhele, 189 -	On brow of precipice. Slight vallum, but without ditch on S. and W., where it would have been unnecessary. On S. E. some outworks, and on the E. a vallum and deep ditch. On line from Exeter to Dartmoor.
ROBOROUGH -	Lysons, vi, 352 -	One and a half mile north of Barnstaple, an ancient camp.
ROMSDEN CASTLE, near RELLY -	———, vi, 352 -	Oval form, single vallum; 400 feet by 234.
	Polwhele, 186 -	
SEATON. See HONEY DITCHES -		
SHORSBURY or SHREWSBURY -	Lysons, vi, 322 -	Ten miles north-east of Barnstaple. Roman.
	———, 352 -	Two miles to the east of Bratton, parish of High Bray. Square.
SIDBURY - -	———, vi, 350 -	Single intrenchment, enclosing a narrow tongue on the ridge of a hill; area, 1400 feet in length by 300 feet in width at the broadest end.
STOCK CASTLE -	———, vi, 352 -	Parish of Linton, a camp a mile from "Holwell Castle".
SOUTH STOCK -	———, vi, 352 -	Parish of Paracomble.
STOCKLAND -	Camden, i, p. 32 -	Between Exeter and Honiton. *Soc. Ant.*, 1780. Said to be Roman, afterwards Danish.
STOODLEY BEACON -	Lysons, vi, p. 353 -	Circular intrenchment; area, half an acre.
STANSBURY -	———, vi, p. 322 -	Circular camp.
	———, vi, p. 251 -	An irregular oval, similar to Blackadon, but smaller in dimensions. Within the area there is a large barrow, and near the fortress three smaller barrows or cairns.
TAMERTON -	Polwhele, *Cornwall*, i, 75	Said to be Tamaris, but no notice of the nature of intrenchment.
TOTNES - -	Lysons, vi, p. 312 -	In describing the Ikenwald way from Dorsetshire to river Tamer, mentions Totnes, a British town.
UGBROOKE. See CASTLE DYKE -		

Digitized by Google

WEMWORTHY -	Lysons, vi, p. 353 -	On line from Exeter to Crediton and Molland.
WIDWORTHY. See also CASTLEWOOD	———, vi, p. 350 -	Ancient intrenchment on the north-east side of hill.
WINKLEIGH -	———, vi, p. 353 -	On line from Exeter to Crediton and Molland.
WOODBURY -	Camden, i, p. 32 -	Small oval near Otterley.
	Lysons, vi, p. 313 -	Road, apparently British, passes through this large camp from south-west to north-east.
	———, vi, p. 350 -	On high down between the Otter and the Exe; pretty regular oval; 500 feet by 250. Some outworks connected with this camp, and some tumuli near it.
	Polwhele, *Devon*, p. 187	Circumference round outer edge of ditch 800 yards; round the top of the rampart, 700 yards; round foot of rampart, inside, 600. Broadest part of area, 160 yards diameter; narrowest, 60. Greatest depth of ditch from the top of the rampart, 15 yards. Breadth from top of rampart to outer edge of ditch, 15 yards. Area, about 5 acres. Without this work another rampart on N. side only. Two outworks are on the S., the other on the N. The N. side strongest from the slope of the hill. The N. outwork placed to defend the principal entrance. Several entrances, but doubtful if they are original. Road on N.E. leading to Hembury.
WOOLFARDISWORTHY. See also BERRY CASTLE, in this parish - -	Lysons, vi, p. 315 -	Circular, British camp.
WOOSTON Castle -	Grose, *voce Devon* -	Near Woodbury.

DAMNONII.	AUTHORITIES.	PITS, PAVEMENTS, ETC.
BLACKDOWN -	Lysons, vi, p. 353 -	Mr. Chapple mentions pits on summit of this down, about three feet deep, commonly called *Iron Pits*, which he supposes as ancient as Hembury fort, and to have been made by the soldiers. Other antiquaries think them a British town.
CADBURY CAMP -	———, vi, p. 352 - Polwhele, *Devon*, p. 187	See Camps.
CAWSEND HILL -	Lysons, vi, p. 306 -	Small circular enclosures, formed by low stone walls, on the moor between this and Gidleigh.
DARTMOOR -	———, vi, p. 306 -	They also occur on this part of Dartmoor, also on Holwell Down, near Widdecombe in the Moor.
DARTMOOR -	Polwhele, *Devon*, p. 143	Round structures on Dartmoor, built of stone. Resemble British houses in dimensions and form. All roofless bare walls, less ruinous towards Whiston Wood, where they lie contiguous, so as to suggest a village. The common notion is that they were a protection for cattle.
GRIMSPOUND -	———, vi, p. 306 -	See Camps.
HOLWELL DOWN. See DARTMOOR.		
WIDDICOMBE. See DARTMOOR.		
EXETER - -	Lysons, vi, p. 310 - Polwhele, *Devon*, 184-5	A tessellated pavement found in St. Pancras Lane, eight feet below the ground, and numerous other Roman remains.

Digitized by Google

DAMNONII.	AUTHORITIES.	ROADS.
CHARD, EXETER, TOTNES -	Camden, vol. i, p. 32 -	Roman road to Isca Dumnonii enters the county between Crookhorn and Chard, meets near Axminster the Roman road from Dorchester; continues through Exeter to Totnes.
EXE to TAMERTON -	Polwhele, *Cornwall*, i, 76	Roman road from the Exe through Renford, Newton Bushel, to Totnes, and by Nacker's Hole to Tamerton.
CASTLEDOWN, EXETER - -	———, *Devon*, p. 190 -	Roman road, Castledown, South Moulton, Berry Castle, Woolfardisworthy, Exeter.
E. to W. - -	———, p. 190 -	Ansty Cadbury, Dolbury Woodbury, Hembury. (Roman.)
AXMINSTER to TAMERTON, IKENWALDWAY -	Lysons, vi, p. 312 -	Principal British road, afterward used by the Romans, passed the whole length of Devonshire from N.E. to S.W. Enters from Dorsetshire as Ikenwaldway, a little E. of Axminster; and passes Rilmington, Shutehill, Dalwood Down, Honiton Church, Hembury Fort, Layhill, Colestocks, Talewater, Tullaton Common, Larkbeare, Wimple Street Way Head, (known here as old Taunton Road), crosses the Exe, proceeds to St. Thomas Alphington, Haldon Ugbrooke, King's Seignton, Newton Abbot, Ford Common, Totnes Brent, to Ford of Tamar.
EXMOUTH to TAUNTON - -	———, vi, p. 313 -	By every appearance British. Starting from the Mouth of the Exe, passes through great camp of Woodbury from S.W. to N.E. At Streetwayhead joins Ikenny Street, passes along it to Hembury Fort, then over Blackdown to Taunton in Somerset.
EXETER, CHUMLEIGH	———, vi, p. 313 -	British trackway, leaves Exeter on S.W., crosses Exe by ford near Bonhay, Clerehill. Modern Okehampton road joins another ancient road. Road from Crediton to Exeter, Haldon Chumleigh.
EXETER to MOLLAND	———, vi, pp. 313, 315	More decided. Used by the Romans. Exeter, Woolfardisworthy, Berry Castle, Witheridge, Knoeston *en route* for Molland.
LEATON to MOLLAND	———, vi, p. 313 -	Seaton, between Yerbury and parish of Farway to camp at Hembury; thence by Collumpton, Bampton, leaving Dulverton on its right, Anstey, Molland.
EXETER to STRATTON - -	———, vi, p. 316 -	Exeter to Stratton, by way, probably, of Okehampton and Hodsworthy, on this line, Oldbridge, Bradbury Castle, three miles north of Bratton, Clovelly Dykes.
TAUNTON to TORRINGTON & STRATTON - -	———, vi, p. 315 -	Road from Taunton, called Romansleigh Ridge, enters Devonshire near Bramptom at Clayhanger, crosses road Exeter to S. Moulton, Whitchester, in parish of Worlington; near Berry Castle; W.S.W. to Beacon Moor, parish of Chumleigh, Cadbury, Elson, crosses river Taw in Burrington parish, over Burrington Moor, Beaford, Wotley, crosses Torridge, Little Torrington. Stratton.
FOSSE ROAD -	———, vi, p. 314 -	Ischalis to Mondonum. Stations difficult to determine; Henbury or Seaton, is most probably the latter. Hinton St. George, village of Street. May be by Chard and Yarcombe.
PORTWAY, SOMERSET to EXETER -	———, vi, p. 315 -	Undoubted Roman, leading from centre of Somerset to Exeter; Uffendine Common, South Appledore, Lenard Moor, turnpike Taunton to Exeter; 10th iter of Richard Cirencester to Bath.
MOLLAND towards BARNSTAPLE -	———, vi, p. 316 -	Roborough, Lanakey Hartland.
YARCOMBE -	———, vi, p. 317 -	Near Otterford, in N.E. of county, a piece of road leading to Hembury or Honiton.
WOLBOROUGH HILL	———, vi, p. 317 -	Piece of road pointing to Dartmouth, but both this and the preceding uncertain.

Digitized by Google

ON THE GENEALOGY AND ARMORIAL ENSIGNS OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN EARLS OF LEICESTER.

BY

JAMES ROBINSON PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE-CROIX; HON. SEC. OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE long and elaborate biographies of the Earls of Leicester, amounting almost to a general history of England, to be found in the first volume of Mr. Nichols's *History and Antiquities* of this county, would have rendered any notice of mine a work of supererogation but for two reasons. Firstly, The contradictions and discrepancies which abound in them, to the great confusion of the reader—the tabular pedigrees differing in many important particulars from the genealogical information in the memoirs. Secondly, The increasing rarity and consequently advancing price of the copies which come into the market, and which, taken in conjunction with the voluminous character of the work, place it out of the reach of the general public.

It is much to be regretted that the form in which the great majority of our most valuable county histories has been published (and Mr. Nichols's *Leicester* deservedly takes high rank amongst them), should necessarily exclude them from all but the largest libraries. It is, however, only with a small portion of the history of the earldom of Leicester that I propose to deal, as my notice of the doubtful and defective points in the pedigree of its Norman possessors will occupy fully as much time as can be afforded me on such an occasion,[1] and tax your patience as far as I could venture to do upon such a subject.

Of the Saxon Leofwines and Leofrics, notwithstanding the temptation of the popular story of the Lady Godiva, I therefore do not intend to speak; and though Edwin was restored to the honours of his father, Algar, by William the Conqueror, and was consequently the first earl of Leicester under the Norman dynasty, it is with Robert Comte de Meulan that my subject fairly begins.

In the year 1107, according to Ordericus Vitalis, the earldom of Leicester, which had remained in the hands of the sovereign from the death of Edwin in 1071, was bestowed by King Henry I. on his chief councillor and firm adherent, Robert de Beaumont (other-

[1] Read at the Leicester Congress, 1862.

Digitized by Google

wise Belmont and Bellomont), Comte de Meulan, son of Roger de Beaumont, seigneur de Pontaudemer, by Adelina, daughter of Waleran de Meulan. Her brother Hugh having assumed the monastic habit and died in the odour of sanctity without issue, Robert de Beaumont obtained from Henry King of France, for a sum of money, the grant of the castle of Meulan, and succeeded his uncle in the comté. Accompanying his father Roger, "the old Sire de Beaumont," in the invading army of Duke William, he distinguished himself by his valour at the battle of Hastings. "A certain Norman young knight," says Guillaume de Poitou, "son of Roger de Bellomont, making the first onset in that fight, did what deserveth lasting fame, boldly charging and breaking in upon the enemy with that corps which he commanded in the right wing of the army." For which eminent service we find he had conferred upon him sixty-four lordships in Warwickshire, the greater part of sixteen in Leicestershire, seven in Wiltshire, three in Northamptonshire, and one in Gloucestershire, which his father, Roger de Beaumont, had previously possessed. The subsequent grant of the county of Leicester to him by Henry I. included the wardenship of the castle and the demesnes of the king within and about the city. This Robert Earl of Leicester and Comte de Meulan married, according to Ordericus Vitalis (B. xi, c. 2), "the beautiful Isabel, niece of the King of France, by whom he had twin sons, Waleran and Robert, and another son called Hugh the Poor, with five daughters." This lady, who was daughter of Hugh the Great, Count de Vermandois, son of Henry I., King of France, and brother of Philip King of France, is often called Elizabeth. Mr. Nichols, in a note (vol. i, p. 23), says, "We read also of a wife of this Earl of Meulan by the name of Isabella, who, as some suspect, ought to have been called Elizabeth; but perhaps Isabella might be a first wife." Mr. Nichols does not seem to have been aware that the names Isabella and Elizabeth are identical. This lady, I regret to say, is accused by Henry of Huntingdon of an intrigue with some other earl during the lifetime of her husband Robert; and as we find that after his death, in 1118, she married immediately William, second earl of Warren and Surrey, it is most probable that he may have been what in Doctors' Commons would now be delicately called "the co-respondent in this case." Watson, in his *History of the Earls of Warren*, has charitably passed over this blot on the escutcheon of the family he commemorates, which said escutcheon he states bore the same arms as that of Vermandois, viz., "chequée *or* and *azure*." This, he observes, accounts for a seal in the Aspilogia of John Charles Brook, Esq., on which is the effigy of a woman in a garment chequy, and holding in *each* hand an escutcheon chequy. Now, I have diligently examined that collection, which is preserved in the College of Arms, and think I may venture to assure you there is no such seal to be found in it: but of this anon. Mr. Nichols, in the pedigree printed at p. 98 of the first volume of his history, gives Robert Comte de Meulan for his first wife, Emma,

Digitized by Google

daughter of Roger de Breteuil, following Burton,[1] although in the memoir of the earl, at page 23, he only mentions Isabella or Elizabeth de Vermandois, whom he says Robert "married in the decline of life and when she was in her bloom, which might account for her lapse from virtue," taking no notice whatever of the statement in the pedigree, which, if it have any foundation in fact, is of the highest importance, as I shall presently show. Roger de Breteuil, son of the great William Fitz-Osborne Earl of Hereford, although represented to have died without issue, left, as we know from the statement of Ordericus, two sons living in the reign of Henry I. It is therefore quite possible he might also have had a daughter named Emma, as his sister was, who married Raoul de Gael Earl of Norfolk; but to whom we are indebted for the discovery of her existence, and the information that she was the first wife of Robert Count de Meulan, Mr. Nichols has unfortunately neglected to mention, or to question Burton's omitting Isabella altogether. Robert's family consisted, as I have said, of three sons and five daughters. The three sons were: 1. William Comte de Meulan after his father, and Earl of Worcester in England; 2. Robert de Beaumont, surnamed Le Bossu, twin brother with Waleran, and who succeeded his father as Earl of Leicester; 3. Hugh the Poor, Earl of Bedford. The twins, Ordericus tells us, were born in 1104, and if this date is to be depended upon, it is clear that Robert *was* considerably advanced in age at the time of their birth; for as he commanded troops at the battle of Hastings, A.D. 1066, he would not be much under age at that period, and must, therefore, have been close upon sixty in 1104. That *they* were his children by Isabel or Elizabeth de Vermandois is manifest from two charters. One by Earl Robert, in which he names his wife "Elizabeth," and speaks of Waleran and Robert as "*our* sons" *(filii nostri)*. The other by the lady herself, who, as "Isabella" Countess of Warren, gives a hundred shillings yearly of her patrimony of Wellebof, to the church of All Saints at Bellemcombre and the infirm brothers serving God there, by the concession of Waleran Comte de Meulan *her son*. But Ordericus also informs us that these twin sons were not his eldest children, for that in 1103 he had a daughter called Emma, then a year old, born, therefore, in 1102, whom he had betrothed to Aumari, son of William Count d'Evereux, and adds, "but from some impediment which occurred, Aumari was prevented from espousing the child he had been promised." We next learn from the same historian, that King Henry I. had kindly brought up, as if they were his own children, Waleran and Robert, the twin sons of Robert Comte de Meulan, from the time of their father's death; for the king loved him much, because in the beginning of his reign he had greatly aided and encouraged him. The two young men on arriving at the age of puberty received knighthood at the king's hands, and Waleran was put in possession of all his father's domains in France and Normandy, his brother Robert

[1] *Description of Leicestershire*, p. 154.

Digitized by Google

receiving the earldom of Leicester in England. From this plain statement by a contemporary chronicler, perfectly coherent in itself and uncontradicted by anything in the shape of equal authority, we are justified in concluding that Robert Comte de Meulan married Isabel de Vermandois in or before the year 1101, and had by her, in 1102, a daughter named Emma, and in 1104 the twin brothers Waleran and Robert (who were of course but fourteen years of age at their father's death in 1118), a third son, Hugh, afterwards Earl of Bedford, and four other daughters, all of whom must have been born subsequent to 1104, and when their father was well stricken in years.

In book xii, chapter 34, Ordericus tells us, under the date of 1122-3, that Count Waleran (de Meulan) had three sisters, and to afford them the consolations of lawful matrimony, and at the same time strengthen himself on all sides among his neighbours, he gave them in marriage to three lords of castles, whose vassals, wealth, and strong places made them very powerful. One he gave to Hugh de Montfort, another to Hugh de Neufchatel, the son of Gervase, and the other to William Louvel, son of Ascelin de Goel, who, after the death of his brother Robert Goel, regained the Castle of Ivri with all his patrimony. The English editor of Ordericus informs us, without quoting his authority, that the names of these three ladies were Adelina (whom he strangely enough confounds with Emma, her elder sister), Amicia or Alice, and Aubrey. The fifth daughter is said to have been Isabel, named after her mother, and married to Gilbert de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, after having been, according to the *chronique scandaleuse* of the time, one of the many mistresses of King Henry I, to whom she bore a daughter of the same name, married to Alexander King of Scotland.

It seems pretty clear, therefore, that all Earl Robert's children were by the lady Isabella, and that he must have married her when he was between fifty and sixty years of age, and we are then justified in asking, is it likely he would have remained single to so late a period of his life? Glover, Somerset Herald *temp.* Elizabeth, a most painstaking antiquary, has, in a manuscript now in the College of Arms, given him two wives, and stated that by the first he had no issue. It is true that he names them Elizabeth and Isabella, having been misled by the second wife being indifferently so called; but the fact of the earl having been twice married is not affected by this natural error, and there may be some foundation for the statement that the first was Emma de Breteuil, as we find Robert naming his first-born child Emma. Indeed, were it not so explicitly stated by Ordericus that Isabella had *five* daughters, there would be some ground for conjecturing that Emma was the issue of the first wife, who had died shortly after giving birth to her in 1102, and that Robert, re-marrying in 1103, became the father of the twin sons, "filii nostri," by Isabella in 1104. What became of Emma we know not. The English editor of Ordericus must surely be in error when he asserts that she was Adelina, as that

Digitized by Google

would reduce the number of daughters to four. If she were the only child of the first wife and died in infancy, after being contracted to Aumari de Montfort, Glover's statement that Earl Robert had no issue by his previous marriage, would require only the addition of the word "surviving" to reconcile it with fact. You will presently see why I have thought it necessary to scrutinize this point in the pedigree so closely.

Robert, the first Earl of Leicester, died 19th of Henry I, A.D. 1118,[1] and was succeeded in his English honours by his son Robert, second De Beaumont, called Le Bossu or Le Goezen, and sometimes Robert the Elder, to distinguish him from his son Robert third, or more particularly to identify him, Robert-Fitz-Robert de Meulan. He married a daughter of Raoul de Gael, the second of that name, not the first, who was Earl of Norfolk, as it is generally recorded. So many of our nobility trace their descent from this Robert le Bossu, and quarter a coat which subsequent heralds invented for Raoul Earl of Norfolk, of whom Robert's wife is set down as daughter and heir, that it is necessary for me to recall to you that in my paper on Raoul de Gael, read at Norwich, I distinctly showed that she was neither. Heir the Earl of Norfolk's daughter could not be, for he had three sons, William, Alan, and Raoul, the latter of whom succeeded his father in his estates in Brittany, those in England being forfeited to the crown, and left Raoul the third and other issue; and that the Countess of Leicester was not the daughter, but the granddaughter of the Earl of Norfolk, is clear from the fact that she was first offered by her father, Raoul 2nd, to Richard, one of the natural sons of Henry I, and regularly affianced to him; but Richard being drowned by the sinking of the *Blanch nef* with Prince Henry and so many of the young nobility of England, 1120, she was eventually married to Robert le Bossu, to whom the king gave with her Breteuil and the lands held under it, Gloz and Lire, which had been previously settled on her by her father as dowry.[2]

This lady is called Ita by the Monk of Jumieges, and Amicia by Ordericus. That the latter is correct we have proof in the charter of her husband to the Abbey of Lire, confirming his wife's gift of an ounce of gold to that house as the donation of "Amicia Comitissa Legercestriæ, *uxor mea*,"[3] and in two charters of her son Robert 3rd to the same establishment, describing her as "*Amicia* comitissæ matris meæ," and "Comitissæ *Amicia* mater meæ." Whether she were also named Ita, for we must not forget that these ladies had frequently two names, I will not attempt to say; nor whether that was the name of another wife, as asserted by some writers; for Mr. Nichols, in his *History of Leicestershire*, at p. 48 of vol. i, says, "We do not read of this earl's having more than

[1] His widow Isabella, afterwards Countess of Warren and Surrey, died 1131, at which period she was probably not much more than fifty, having been born *circa* 1080. Pere Anselm says, "vers 1096," which would make her the mother of twins at ten years old!

[2] Ordericus Vitalis.

[3] *Mon. Ang.*, ii, p. 986.

Digitized by Google

one wife, namely, Amicia, mentioned above," and yet in the pedigree, at p. 98, again following Burton, he gives him two ; first, *Uta* (as it is there spelt), erroneously described as daughter and heir of Ralph de Waet (de Gael), Earl of Norfolk ; and second, Amicia, stated to be the daughter of Ralph de Montfort. Not the slightest authority is quoted for these assertions, nor any notice taken of the contradictory passage at p. 48. The confusion has no doubt arisen from the fact, that the family of De Gael were Lords of Montfort sur Rille, and with the usual perplexing caprice of the period, Ralph de Gael is sometimes called Ralph de Montfort by contemporary writers ; but the student of Mr. Nichol's memoir, if not aware of this fact, will reverse the whimsical idea of George Coleman the younger, and "roll one *married* gentleman into two." All credible authorities, however, agree in stating the mother of Robert le Bossu's issue to have been Amicia. It consisted of four sons, Robert, Henry, Geoffrey, and John ; and two daughters, Isabel, who became the wife of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton, and Hawisia, married to William Earl of Gloucester. We have seen that by his union with Amicia de Gael or De Montfort, Robert le Bossu became possessed of the seigneuries of Breteuil, Lire, and Gloz, and in one of his charters we find him addressing his barons, etc., of the honour of Breteuil : "R. Comes Legercestriæ, Ernaldo de Bosco Constabulario suo et omnibus baronibus et hominibus suis de honore de Britolū."[1] His son and grandsons also, we shall find, assumed the additional appellation of "De Britolio" or "De Breteuil;" but there is a remarkable fact, to which I shall draw your attention, as deserving to be taken into consideration in connexion with the assertion of the first marriage of Robert de Meulan with Emma de Breteuil. In 1139 Robert le Bossu Earl of Leicester was made by King Stephen Earl of Hereford, and the wording of the grant bestowing on him the city, castle, and entire county of Hereford ("Burgum, castellum et totum comitatum de Herefordschyre") is remarkable, as it implies a restoration to, or confirmation of, that dignity.

Whether the expression "reddidisse" implies a previous gift by Stephen himself or by the late King Henry I to Robert le Bossu, or a restitution to honours and possessions enjoyed by his ancestors, we are at present without information, but in either case the inference to be drawn from it is the same. Amicia, Countess of Leicester, the wife of Robert le Bossu, was great-granddaughter of William Fitz-Osborne, the first Earl of Hereford after the conquest. He left by his first wife two sons and a daughter. William de Breteuil, the eldest son, succeeded to his father's possessions in Normandy ; Roger, the second son, became Earl of Hereford, and Emma, the only daughter, married Raoul de Gael Earl of Norfolk. The two latter noblemen rebelling against William the Conqueror were dispossessed of their earldoms. Raoul and his wife escaped from

[1] *Mon. Ang.*, vol. ii, p. 986.

Digitized by Google

England and died in the Holy Land, leaving two surviving sons, one of whom, Raoul 2nd, was the father of Amicia Countess of Leicester. Roger de Breteuil died in prison in England in the reign of Rufus, and left two sons living in the reign of Henry I, and vainly imploring that sovereign to restore them the lands and honours of their father. This he appears never to have done; but if they had, as we find it asserted, a sister, it would have been quite in accordance with the usage of the time if Henry had given her in marriage to his great favourite, Robert de Meulan, with the earldom, or, at any rate, the territory attached to it. The grant of Stephen would, in that case, be a confirmation to Robert le Bossu of the gift to his father, or of some promise to himself, personally, in consideration of that alliance, dependent, it might be, on the extinction of the male line of William Fitz-Osborne. It may, of course, be argued that Robert le Bossu may have had the county of Hereford given to him in consideration of his having married the great-granddaughter of Fitz-Osborne, on whom her father had already bestowed the honour of Breteuil, which he must have inherited from his maternal uncle, William de Breteuil, who died without legitimate issue: but I cannot help thinking that this fact, which has been incidentally mentioned by Mr. Nichols without further comment, supports the assertion in the pedigree, and deserves a much closer examination than has as yet been accorded to it by any modern genealogist.

Robert le Bossu died in 1168, his wife, Amicia, having previously, with his consent, assumed the religious habit in the convent at Eaton, called from that establishment Nuneaton, where she died on the 1st of September, but the year is not known. Their eldest son, Robert de Beaumont or Bellomont, surnamed also De Breteuil, but more popularly known as "Robert with the white hands" (*Oves les Blanchemains*), either from their natural fairness, or, as it has been shrewdly suggested, from the effects of a fearful malady with which another of his family appears to have been afflicted, succeeded his father as Earl of Leicester but not as Earl of Hereford, that title and the domains belonging to it having been bestowed by the Empress Matilda on her partizan, Milo, Constable of Hereford the year following that in which they were given by Stephen to Robert le Bossu, whose claim to them does not appear to have ever been recognized by her or her son, Henry II. With the latter monarch Robert Blanchemains was soon at open enmity, and siding with the young Prince Henry against his royal father, he raised the standard of rebellion, and brought upon himself the vengeance of the king, who burned his castle of Breteuil, took and nearly destroyed the town of Leicester, and finally defeated and made prisoner the earl himself in 1173. After a confinement of four years he was restored to liberty, and all his lands in England and France, with the exception of the castles of Mountsorel in the former and of Pacy in the latter. He survived Henry II and was in great favour with Richard Cœur de Lion, and died on his return

Digitized by Google

from Palestine at Duras, in Greece (the ancient Dyrachium), where also he was buried A.D. 1190. He married Petronella or Pernelle, daughter and co-heir, as is generally believed, of Hugh de Grentmesnil, at all events an heiress of that great and powerful family, in whose right he is supposed to have become Baron of Hinckley and Groby, and hereditary high steward or seneschal of England, an office attached to the former honour.

We have evidently not quite the rights of this story. The parentage of Pernelle has not been exactly ascertained, and Mr. Nichols has shown that the honour of Hinckley and the consequent stewardship of England were previously in the family of De Beaumont, having come to them, he says, in the same manner as the lordship of Breteuil, or, may we not rather suggest, as the earldom of Hereford, for William Fitz-Osborne held that high office in the time of the Conqueror, and if either the first or second Robert de Beaumont represented him *de jure uxoris*, it would doubtless have been claimed by one of them. The issue of Robert Blanchemains by Pernelle consisted of three sons and two daughters, the eldest son, William de Britolio or de Breteuil, was a leper, and died during his father's lifetime, having founded the hospital of St. Leonard's at Leicester. Robert, his next brother, by some thought the eldest, succeeded as fourth Earl of Leicester, and Roger, third son, was Bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland. Amicia, the eldest daughter, married Simon surnamed the Bald, Count d'Evereux and Seigneur de Montfort l'Aumari. Margaret, the other daughter, became the wife of Saer de Quincy Earl of Winchester. Mr. Nichols gives him four sons, making William de Breteuil a separate person from the leper, whom he hesitates to call William, but he does not support his view by any authority. In his pedigree Adelina, the aunt of Robert Blanchemains and wife of Hugh de Montfort, is set down as having a daughter of the same name who married a William de Britolio. If there is any truth in this, it must have been her cousin, for William de Breteuil, son of the first Earl of Hereford, was dead, leaving only an illegitimate daughter[1] and no other William de Breteuil; but the son of Robert and Pernelle has never been met with. The Countess Pernelle survived her husband and died on the 1st of April, 12..? leaving, according to tradition, a singular memento of her piety, in a rope, made by herself of her own hair, to draw up the lamp in the choir of St. Mary de Pratis. Robert de Breteuil, called for distinction sake Robert Fitz-Pernelle, succeeded his father, Robert Blanchemains, as Earl of Leicester, and was girded with the sword by Richard I at Messina in 1191.[2] He was, therefore, probably abroad at the time of his father's death

[1] Named Isabella, who married Ascelin de Goel, and had issue by him a son named William Louvel, who married one of the five daughters of Robert Comte de Meulan, first earl, *vide* page 33.

In Nichols's *History* is a charter of an "Amicia Domina de Montefortis," who declares herself the daughter of a William de Breteuil, "Pro anima *patris* mei Willielmi de Bertolio." It is only a misprint for "*fratris* mei," but it makes a considerable difference to the pedigree.

[2] Iter Regis Ricardi. Gale's *Scriptores*.

Digitized by Google

in 1190. On his return from the crusade he married Laurette, daughter of William Lord Breuse of Brember, by whom he had no issue, and dying, 6th January, A.D. 1204, Simon de Montfort, second son of his eldest sister and co-heir of Amicia by Simon the Bald, Comte d'Evereux, was created Earl of Leicester, not "in right of his *wife*," as erroneously stated by Burton, page 156, and in the pedigrees of De Bellomont and De Montfort, at pages 98 and 212 of Nichols's *Leicestershire*, for he married before 1190 Alice de Montmorency, and in the above pedigree he has been confounded with his father and a whole generation omitted. He had two brothers, Aumari, the eldest, who succeeded his father as Comte d'Evereux, and died without issue in the lifetime of his mother; and Guy, the younger brother, killed in 1229 at the siege of the castle of Vacilles, near Paumier. He had also three sisters, Bertrade, Petronelle, and Guiberge, the first of whom married Hugh Kevillioc, Earl of Chester. Revolting against King John on the landing of the Dauphin of France, Simon was deprived of his earldom, which the king conferred on Ranulph, surnamed Blondeville, Earl of Chester, son of Hugh Kevillioc by Simon's eldest sister Bertrade above mentioned. Ranulph was therefore undoubtedly sixth Earl of Leicester, but has not been so entered in any catalogue of earls that I have met with, although several mention the circumstance of his creation.

The dispossessed Simon de Montfort turned his arms against the unfortunate Albigenses in company with his brother Guy, who had followed his fortunes, and was slain at the siege of Tholouse in 1210. His eldest son, Aumary, Comte de Montfort, immediately assumed the title of Earl of Leicester, but his claim was not recognized by the young King Henry III. Twelve years afterwards, having married Beatrice de Bourgonne Viennois, he made another attempt to obtain the earldom, by petitioning King Henry to grant it, either to himself or his brother Simon. To the petition Henry answered that he would grant it to Simon as soon as he could get it out of the hands of Ranulph Earl of Chester. Ranulph appears, however, to have retained it as long as he lived, and it is therefore more remarkable that he has not been numbered as sixth Earl of Leicester.

On the death of Ranulph, Henry performed his promise to Simon, and, in addition, conferred on him the hand of his sister Eleanor, the beautiful widow of William Marshall, the younger Earl of Pembroke. But rebellion seems to have been in the blood of the De Montforts, for neither the gracious restoration to the honours and possessions forfeited by his father for treason, nor the flattering gift of the fair hand of his sovereign's sister, could bind Simon to the fortunes of his royal brother-in-law. Branded as an "old traitor" by William de Lusignan, he finally expiated his ingratitude by falling with his son Henry on the field of Evesham, and with him terminated the line of the Norman Earls of Leicester. His second and third sons, Simon and Guy, expatriated, became the murderers of Henry of Almaine at Viterbo, avowedly in revenge for their father's death; and his

Digitized by Google

youngest son Richard, under the name of Wellesborne, founded a new and knightly family, bearing other arms and renouncing all pretentions to the dignities and domains of his ancestors. The only daughter of Simon, named after her mother, Eleanor, was married to Llewellyn Prince of Wales.

Let us now turn our attention to the armorial bearings which have been assumed by or attributed to these Norman earls, and see upon what foundation they have been accorded to them. The existence of anything approaching to regular heraldic bearings before the middle of the twelfth century is now very rarely asserted, and although no precise date can yet be named for their adoption, it is generally admitted by all writers of any consideration, that the devices on shields and standards previous to that period were simply ornamental, continually varied according to the immediate fancy of the knight, and had in no case become hereditary. Spots, stripes, and cheques are amongst the usual ornaments of the little gonfanons or streamers attached to the lances of the Norman knights in the Bayeux Tapestry, and on the seals of the nobles of France, England, and Normandy of the eleventh century. An instance of chequers occurs on the gonfanon of Fulk, Comte d'Anjou, and the first example in the family of De Beaumont is to be found on that of Waleran Comte de Meulan, afterwards Earl of Worcester in England, son of Robert, first Earl of Leicester, by Isabel de Vermandois,—out of respect to whose family it is asserted that not only Robert Earl of Leicester, but William Earl of Warren, her second husband, adopted them. It may be questioned even whether the arms of Warren, chequy *or* and *azure*, were really derived from the house of Vermandois; but in the seals of Robert de Beaumont, Comte de Meulan, no such ornament or device is to be seen at all. On one he is represented with a blank shield, and in another with what was afterwards termed in heraldry an escarboucle—an ornamental strengthening of the shield, by bands or rods of metal, radiating from a central umbo or boss. At the period to which we refer, this was no charge or badge, but an exceedingly common fashion of shield, necessitated by its long kite-like shape; examples of which are to be met with in the seals of most families, and on many sepulchral effigies of the twelfth century. On the seals of Robert Fitz-Pernel, Earl of Leicester (1191-1204), we first discover positive heraldic insignia. One presents us with the well-known cinquefoil, charged with five *ermine* spots, one on each leaf, which has been adopted as the arms of Leicester; and the other exhibits a heater-shaped shield *chequée*, the colours, of course, uncertain, surrounded by the legend, *Secretum Roberti de Bretuel.* Be it derived from whence it may, this therefore is the only real shield of arms as yet discovered appertaining to the De Beaumonts Earls of Leicester; for the cinquefoil *ermine* is simply a badge or device, not arms; although placed in a field *gules*, it has been converted into such by later heralds, and granted to the borough as those of Leicester. With respect to

Digitized by Google

the derivation of the chequers from the family of Vermandois, I might cut short the argument at once by falling back on my often repeated assertion, that in the eleventh century no heraldic insignia existed. The banner of the King of France was as innocent of armorial decoration as that of the Count of Vermandois ; but I know there are some who still desperately cling to the old belief, and I will therefore only ask, if such powerful nobles as Robert Earl of Leicester, and William Earl of Warren, were induced to assume the arms of Vermandois, because they had successively married the youngest daughter of an heiress of that family, why did not Hugh Seigneur de Gournay, Raoul de Beaugency, and the Italian Marquis Bonifacio, who married her three eldest sisters, do the same ? Nay, more, if William Earl of Warren, her second husband, did assume the arms for such a reason, how is it that Henry, son of the King of Scotland, who married her daughter Adelina, by that very earl, neglected this opportunity of displaying this coveted coat of Vermandois, which a prince of France and two of the greatest nobles in England had thought it an honour to substitute for their own—provided always they had any.

I will not trespass on your patience by continuing this fight with a phantom. I cannot be expected to prove a negative. Let those who are interested in the question produce some authentic evidence in support of the contrary opinion, and I will gladly and gratefully amend mine. Robert Fitz-Pernel lived in the reign of Richard I and King John—the period at which armorial bearings were beginning to be fixed and hereditary, and heraldry was becoming a science ; and whether the *chequée* coat had been assumed as the arms of De Beaumont, or those only of the Seigneury of Breteuil, it is, I repeat, the only authentic arms of an earl of Leicester previous to the thirteenth century. The origin of the cognizance or badge of the cinquefoil *ermine* is also unknown. It appears at the same period on a seal of the same earl, and that it was, like all such devices, allusive in some way to the name of a person, his title, office, or estate, there can be little doubt ; but I have not been able to guess even at the reason for its assumption. That it was a family badge, is probable from the fact that in a Roll of Arms of the time of Henry III, Robert de Quincy, son of Saer de Quincy, Earl of Winchester by Margaret, one of the sisters and co-heirs of Robert Fitz-Pernel, is said to bear *gules*, a quintefoil *ermine*, while his second brother, Roger Earl of Winchester, displays on his seal the badge of a flower with *six* leaves—the later De Beaumonts powdering the field of their arms with roses. For the arms of De Montfort we have sufficient authority. That branch which is distinguished as Montfort de Beldesert, bore bendy *or* and *azure*, but the immediate descendants of Simon Comte d'Evereux, Seigneur de Montfort l'Aumari, bore *gules*, a lion rampant *argent* queue fourchée, as may be seen from a figure of Simon de Montfort, first of that name, Earl of Leicester, in the window of the cathedral of Chartres, where he is represented on horseback with those arms on his shield, and bearing a banner displaying

Digitized by Google

what are supposed to be the arms of the honour of Hinckley, party per pale indented *argent* and *gules*.

Richard, the youngest son of the last Simon Earl of Leicester, assumed the name of Wellesborne and displays three different coats. 1. On a field lozengy between two fleurs-de-lys, a lion rampart queue fourchée drowning a child. 2. A chief chequée over all a griffin segreant. 3. The same coat differenced by a bend debruising the griffin. These seals are all engraved on plates in the first volume of Mr. Nichols's *Leicestershire:* but the seal of Henry de Montfort, represented on plate xii, fig. 3, is a gross forgery, the equestrian figure upon it being depicted in a complete suit of plate armour of the reign of Henry VII.

One word at parting by way of justification of this paper and apology for its want of interest to a general audience. As usual on such occasions, my principal object has been to call your attention to the weak or utterly defective points in the genealogical history of the families in question. I have told you little if anything that is new to you, but I have warned you against implicitly believing much that is old. Suddenly required to write on a subject which I had not previously investigated, all I could possibly do at the moment was to show you where the evidence breaks down or perplexes by its contradiction. To supply those deficiencies, to correct those errors, is not the work of days but of years, and I think I have cut out quite enough for my own employment, as well as for that of the local antiquaries by whom I have the honour to be surrounded and hope to be associated. I have, I think, proved to you how little is certainly known when we come critically to examine matters which, at first sight, appear to be satisfactorily disposed of. How utterly untrustworthy are many of the confident assertions which have acquired a sanctity by age and iteration. The antiquary of the last century had the same veneration for a manuscript that Mohamedans have for the invisible volume of Fate, and would have devoutly exclaimed "It is written," in answer to any impertinent querist. They would deem us graceless infidels for doubting the heralds and historians who have expended so much time, learning, and labour in amassing information and recording events for the benefit of posterity. More particularly as they had access to original documents long since lost or destroyed. But while we are grateful for much that they have preserved, we cannot help lamenting they have so rarely quoted the authorities they consulted, and thus enabled us to form our own estimate of the value of the evidence. Our daily experience proves that we cannot implicitly rely on the statements of even the most honest eyewitnesses of passing events. Why then should we give greater credence to the chronicles of those gone by? We have learned the art of verifying dates, of appreciating, to use an imperial phrase, "the inexorable logic of facts." We no longer "hold each strange tale devoutly true," and are often rewarded for our scepticism by eliciting truth, which is acknowledged to be "stranger than fiction."

Digitized by Google

ON THE LIFE AND TIMES OF LETITIA COUNTESS OF LEICESTER.

BY

EDWARD LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

IT has been remarked by the accomplished authoress of *Women in France during the Eighteenth Century*, that "men have filled the pages of history with their own deeds, their perilous daring in war, their subtle skill in peace, their designs, vast and magnificent, the power of their ideas, the triumphs of their genius, the revolutions in their faith and government, all they have done or undergone has been faithfully recorded; . . . but woman, in the peace and quiet beauty of her domestic life, in the gentleness of her love, in the courage of her charity, in the holiness of her piety, we must not hope to find." I think that this sweeping assertion might easily be refuted, and I trust that we shall at any rate stand acquitted of having ignored the "rights of woman;" for I venture to hope that this meeting, which has listened to and welcomed the able paper which has been already read upon the "Earls of Leicester," will not be disinclined to accord *place aux dames* and accept an account relative to a lady whose life was indeed an eventful one, and whose connexion and association with the highest and most celebrated people of her day, render her an object of interest, not only to archæologists—as to those who are concerned in investigating the history and manners of past ages—but also to such as merely regard details, like those which I am about to lay before you, as illustrative of the character and habits of a person whose station was so exalted, and whose fortunes were so remarkable, as were those of Lettice Countess of Leicester.

Craik, in his *Romance of the Peerage*, has given her biography in a memoir entitled "Lettice Knollys," for such was her maiden name; but it is so intermingled with notices of and long digressions concerning several of her contemporaries, comparatively little of it, in fact, being occupied with her own personal history, that I propose, with your permission, to give a brief sketch of her life, before reading to you the few unpublished documents concerning her which are to be found in the State Paper Office.

Letitia Knollys, then, was born either in 1539 or 1540. Her father, Sir Francis, was one of Henry VIII's gentleman pensioners, held office under Edward VI, and was so zealously attached to, and so active in carrying out the principles of the Reformation,

Digitized by Google

that upon Mary's accession he found it prudent to retire to Germany. No sooner, however, had Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558, than he returned to England, where his well-known ardour in religious matters, added to his connection through marriage with the queen, procured him immediate employment and a certain degree of distinction about the court. He was made a privy councillor, vice-chamberlain and treasurer of the household, captain of the guard, and ultimately, in 1593, towards the close of his life (for he did not die till 1596), he was created a knight of the garter. On 1st of November, 1566, when the Houses of Parliament met to address the Queen on the subject of her marriage with a view towards settling the royal succession, Sir Francis Knollys was selected by Elizabeth to convey to them a message to the effect that they were not to trouble themselves any further on the matter, but to be satisfied with her majesty's promise that she intended to marry. It certainly may have been the queen's "intention" at this time, as it might be and probably was several times during her life to redeem this promise; but we all know how she ever managed to elude the matrimonial tie, and to pass her life "in maiden meditation," if not "fancy free." In 1567 Sir Francis had the custody of the unfortunate Mary of Scotland at Bolton Castle, and in 1586 was one of those who were appointed to try her for her life. His wife was Catherine, daughter of William Carey, by Mary daughter of Thomas Boleyn Earl of Wiltshire, and sister of Queen Anne Boleyn. Lady Knollys was chief lady of the queen's bedchamber, and died in 1569. An inscription upon her tomb in St. Edmund's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, informs her husband, amongst other matters, of a fact—which, by the way, he must have known pretty well himself—for it says:

"Illa tibi liberos sex et bis quinque marito
Protulit; æqualis fœmina masque fuit;"

which does not mean in this instance that Sir Francis and his wife both equally "ruled the roast," but merely that they had an equal number of male and female children, of whom Lettice was the eldest daughter. Thus it was that the Knollys family had, as it were, a double claim upon Elizabeth's consideration; for, as Fuller remarks, "the husband was allied to the queen in conscience (as fellow-sufferers for the Protestant cause), the wife in kindred." Being then the queen's first cousin once removed, owing to the sisterhood of her grandmother and Anne Boleyn, Lettice Knollys no doubt enjoyed the most favourable countenance of her royal relation, and was one of the most brilliant ornaments of the radiant circle that surrounded and graced her throne; for we have it upon Fuller's authority, that the Knollys family "were conversing constantly at court." Here it was, in all probability, that she first attracted the attention of the nobleman who was her first husband, Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, afterwards Earl of Essex, to whom she was married *circa* 1562, she being at that period about twenty-two years

Digitized by Google

old, and her husband of the same age. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to enter into minute biographical details in regard to Lord Essex, but it will be necessary to mention some few facts relative to his life and career, inasmuch as they are so important when viewed in connexion with the history of the Earl of Leicester and his countess, the subject of the present notice.

In May, 1572, Viscount Hereford was created Earl of Essex, and from this period his sorrows and troubles seem to have commenced. We are unfortunately compelled to believe that the conduct of his wife was the main cause of his unhappiness and of his ardent wish to quit his home and country; for although she had not openly sinned against him, yet there can be little doubt that Leicester had shown marked attentions to her, and that she received them in such a manner as to excite Essex's suspicion and anger.

The facts of the case are as follows. Essex had at this period volunteered to put down Shane O'Neill's rebellion in Ireland, upon condition that he should, if successful, be put into possession of half the lands recovered from the rebels. There is no doubt that Leicester was very anxious for the execution of this plan, urged it strongly upon the Queen, and solicited Essex most vehemently to undertake it. Both Fuller and Camden assure us of this fact, the former asserting that he was "put upon this adventure by Leicester—who loved the earl's nearest relation" (referring of course to his wife) "better than he loved the earl himself;" and the latter that, "he followed therein the counsel of those who desired above all things to have him further off, and to plunge him into dangers under pretence of procuring him honour." Such statements as these prove that Leicester, true to his character in such matters, was both cunning and cruel in the means which he devised for accomplishing the object of his desires, and the use of the word "those" would seem to imply that the countess was an accomplice with him in his treachery. It is, however, scarcely credible that a woman whose subsequent correspondence, as printed by the author whom I have mentioned,[1] indicates a nature both tender and true, and whose unpublished letters, which I purpose to read to you this evening, give evidence of a kindly and affectionate heart,—of whom Fuller himself says, "This Lettice, though of the weaker sex, may well be accounted, with her brethren, as the strongest pillar of the family,"—it is, I repeat, scarcely credible that such a woman would have married a man, who in order to gratify a sinful passion for herself had, with her own knowledge and consent not only have persuaded her husband to embark in an undertaking which involved him both in loss and disgrace, but was even very strongly suspected of having bribed his own servants to poison him. The high position and attractive person of Leicester doubtless dazzled the countess and betrayed her into

[1] See her Letters, G. L. Craik's *Romance of the Peerage*. London. 1848. Vol. i, p. 150 *et seq.* Printed from Birch MS., 4124.

Digitized by Google

indiscretions which were not uncommon among ladies of the highest rank at that period, and of which even the Queen herself was guilty. At these Essex was of course naturally and justly offended, but we have no evidence of actual faithlessness to her marriage vows on Lady Essex's part. On the contrary, contemporary history does not pretend to implicate her in these proceedings, and upon weighing the evidence there is every reason to conclude that the plots carried on against her husband by Leicester were conceived and put into practice wholly without her connivance, and that although she cannot morally be considered blameless, she must at any rate be judicially pronounced innocent of crime. The whole of this unhappy affair is still involved in much obscurity,[1] and however it may have been, Lady Essex's conduct produced such an estrangement between her noble husband and herself that, during his last hours she was not even near him; and we are told by one of his chaplains, that when he lay dying "the only care that he had of any worldly matter was for his children, to whom often he commended his love and blessing, and yielded many times, even with great sighs, most devout prayers unto God that he would bless them, and give them grace to fear him. For his daughters also he prayed, lamenting the time which is so vain and ungodly, as he said, considering the frailties of women;" and speaking of those who had so deeply injured him, he said, "Lord, from the bottom of my heart I forgive them." He left by his wife, Robert, his successor, who was executed in 1601, "A man on whom," writes Lord Macauley, himself a native of this county, and one of whom Leicestershire may well be proud, "nature and fortune had lavished all their bounties in vain; and whom valour, grace, genius, royal favour, popular applause conducted to an early and ignominious doom." Besides this son the earl left two other sons and two daughters.

His decease took place on the 22nd September, 1576, three years after his departure for Ireland, and during the whole of that time Leicester's passion for the countess had not diminished, although at the very same time he was carrying on an amour with, or according to her own account, was privately married to Douglas Howard, the widow of John Lord Sheffield, whom also he was accused of having caused to be poisoned in 1569. At any rate in 1572 Lady Sheffield had borne him a son, that famous Robert Dudley, so well known for his scientific attainments, who assumed the title of Duke of Northumberland in 1620; but notwithstanding this, no sooner had Lord Essex breathed his last than Leicester strove to free himself from Lady Sheffield, who doubtless wishing to escape the fate which, according to a commonly received, but apparently erroneous story,

[1] See the note to Lingard's *History of England*, vol. vi, p. 157 (6th edit., London, 1854), where it is said that "there is reason to believe that she bore him two children during the absence of her husband in Ireland." Had this been the case, Leicester was not the kind of man who would have been likely to marry her afterwards.

Digitized by Google

overtook her predecessor,[1] Amy Robsart, and fearing, as she herself asserted, for her life,[2] consented to forego her claim upon Leicester, and married Sir Edward Stafford. Having thus taken care, as the saying is, "to be off with the old love before he was on with the new," Leicester married Lady Essex. Camden, in his *History and Annals of England in the reign of Elizabeth*, gives us to understand that their union took place, secretly, the very year that Essex died, for under that date (viz. 1576) he tells us that although there was a report that the countess and Leicester had been married, yet Sir Francis Knollys, her father, would not be satisfied until the ceremony was performed in his own presence and that of credible witnesses; but, he adds, "these things" (meaning the marriage before Sir Francis) "were done a year or two afterwards;" and we know that the public marriage did actually take place at Wanstead, on 21st September, 1578.

During all this time the real state of affairs was kept secret from the Queen; for it is scarcely credible, that had Elizabeth known how matters really stood, she would have coquetted as she did with the earl, nor would Leicester at this period have been intriguing to marry Elizabeth herself, had he not intended, probably, to put the Countess Lettice out of the way, should it suit his purpose so to do; since there can be but little doubt that he was unscrupulous (even in the judgment of his contemporaries) in the methods which he employed of accomplishing the object of his desires. But in 1579 her majesty was informed of all that had taken place, under circumstances which are too well known to need recapitulation here. Leicester was confined by the Queen's order in Greenwich castle, and had it not been that he had had powerful advocates to espouse his cause, would no doubt have been committed to the Tower. Moreover his wife became henceforth the object of Elizabeth's aversion and persecution.

I shall not, however, trouble you by following out Leicester's career further. It is well known how in a short time he succeeded in re-establishing himself in his royal mistress' favour, and how he still contrived to get rid of those who were obnoxious to him. There can be but little doubt that Elizabeth must have entertained a sincere and strong affection for him, otherwise she never would have countenanced a man stained with guilt, both proved and suspected, so far as to propose to create him her Lieutenant-General for England and Ireland, and thus virtually to have placed the government of her whole realm in his hands. Yet this she actually would have done had she not been prevailed upon to reconsider her determination upon the earnest remonstrance of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton. Leicester died in

[1] For an able and impartial summary of this, see an essay by T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., F.R.S., entitled "An Inquiry Concerning the Death of Amy Robsart," London, 1859, where the commonly received account of Amy Robsart's death by poison is totally invalidated.

[2] Gervase Holles gives a full account of the whole of this matter: Lady Sheffield's son was pronounced illegitimate.

Digitized by Google

September 1588; and here, again, the suspicion of crime attaches itself to his countess. It is said, indeed, that she poisoned him; but there are two[1] versions of the story, one of which asserts that she gave him some pernicious liquor which he had himself prepared, to administer possibly to herself, but which she did not know to be poison; the other, that owing to a discovery which Leicester had made of an intrigue between his countess and Sir Christopher Blount, she deliberately determined to put him out of the way; and this determination being strengthened by Leicester's taking Blount along with him to the Netherlands, when he went there as governor in 1585, and setting, as some said, an assassin to attack him, the countess administered the fatal draught to her husband out of revenge, in order to remove the obstacle which prevented her free intercourse with Blount. The latter is the account given by Ben Jonson, in his conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden, and he adds the following epitaph upon Leicester:—

"Heere lyes a valiaunt warrior
Who never drew a sword,
Heere lyes a noble courtier
Who never kept his word;
Here lies the Earle of Leicester,
Who governed the estates,
Whom the earth could never living love,
And the just heaven now hates."

Before the middle of August, 1589, (*i.e.* in rather less than a year after Leicester's death), his countess married Blount. Here, again, much uncertainty rests upon her motives of action, and it appears probable that the circumstances in which she was left by Leicester induced her to consent to so speedy a union with her third husband, in the vain hope that she might escape the pecuniary difficulties and embarrassments in which she was placed by the earl's death. Although he left nearly half his property to his wife, it was found upon winding up his estates that he had actually died in debt, not only to private creditors but also to the crown; so that, as we are told by Camden, his effects were disposed of at a public sale, and on one of the Harleian Rolls his liabilities are stated at £53,120 : 8 : 5, while the assets left to meet them are said to have amounted to no more than £24,777 : 10 : 9.

The countess, therefore, finding herself left in so impoverished a condition, and being aware that Elizabeth would prosecute her claims to the uttermost, was eager to obtain some refuge from utter destitution, and she fondly imagined that by marrying Blount she took the surest way to screen herself from the annoyances to which, as Leicester's widow, she would have been subject. For some years after her third marriage, therefore,

[1] The narrative and the authorities are given, and the *pros* and *cons* weighed in Craik, vol. i, pp. 124-147.

Digitized by Google

she lived in retirement at Drayton Bassett, near Tamworth, as the Queen still continued her resentment against her. In 1599 she came to London for the express purpose of having an interview with her majesty, but the Queen would only see her once. She suffered her indeed to kiss her hand, but, it is said, spoke unkindly to her. The countess, however, still endeavoured to mollify her royal mistress; for we are informed that in March 1600 she had finished a "most curious fine gown as a present for the Queen," which, however, Elizabeth declined to accept. In the following year, 1601, Blount (who had always been a traitor, was executed for treason, so that the months of February and March saw the countess deprived both of her son and her husband.

Lady Leicester's marriage with Blount could not by any means have been a happy one. She was not one whit the less pestered on account of her late husband's debts during her coverture than she would have been had she remained a widow. The Queen and her private creditors pressed her hard for money, and in Harleian MSS. 304, is "A noate what legacies were given by my L[ady] of Leicester, and delivered by our lady as excequetrix" [to the earl], in which, after the mention of various jewels handed over to Elizabeth, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Treasurer Burghley, and the Lord Chancellor Hatton, these words are added: "to divers others jewells also, nott now remembered." Moreover Blount, it appears, exercised his matrimonial rights in a somewhat profitable manner to himself; and in the same paper we have "a remembraunce to shewe how my ladye hathe bynne ridde of her jewells," in which it is stated that "the first yeare Sir Christopher Blounte was married, he soulde maneye greate jewells; and hathe continewed the same course almost every year since." A list then follows of what Sir Christopher thus disposed of, and with regard to some of them he appears to have behaved in a very light-fingered and underhanded way; for we are told with respect to a diamond clock, a great diamond table, and "a fayer jewell of diamonds, the best my ladye had left her," that he brought them up to London, and "how he bestowed them God knoweth."

As the various items of property, both real and personal, thus made away with by Blount are printed in Nichols's *Leicestershire*, it is needless for me to detail them here; but I may add that the poor countess was so "dunned," that she complains that besides all she has given up she is forced out of her jointure to pay "300 powndes yearlie to hir Ma^tie^, which," she adds, "is contrary to all equitye, the heyre having lande of inheritance sufficient to discharge debtts to her Ma^tie^."

This must have been after 1605, inasmuch as she designates the Earl of Leicester's son by Lady Sheffield as the "heir," for she herself was engaged in contesting his right to be considered as the heir in that year. The decision which was given against Sir Robert's legitimacy held good as against the countess's assertion that he was liable for his

Digitized by Google

father's debts; for, of course, although Sir Robert Dudley inherited what the earl left him, as being expressly styled by him in his will "his base son," still he did not take it as his legitimate heir, and could not therefore in any way be held responsible for his deficits.

The straits to which the countess was reduced at the time of Blount's arrest were very great, and the claims against her so many and so pressing, that the following letter, addressed to Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst (afterwards Earl of Dorset), Lord High Treasurer, and endorsed 1600, but written according to the present reckoning in 1601, shows how anxious she was not to diminish her income by losing the wardship of a young gentleman who had been entrusted to her.

"Most noble lord," she says, "I must not omyte to aknowledge my thankfulnes for all your Lps. honorable favours, and namlye for thys last, wherein it pleasede you lyke your worthye self to doe me ryght and tendere my quiete, which God will requitt thoe I can not. I have here a fewe perverse tenants that carys themselves pevishly agaynst me, as the bearer can informe your Lp., but a [little ?] of your countenance will sone quayle them, wich I beseche you afforde me. Also I mak boulde to put your good Lp. in remembrance of your honorable promyse unto me at my last being ther for the wardshippe of Mr. Petose sonne, who all thoughe I scarslye thynk evere to have good of, the young man being allredye cum to eighteen yeares of age, and hys father not ould, thoe long sycklye, yet now having put hym of hymself into my custodye, my humble sute to your Lp. is that if he shuld chance to faule I myght then be sure without any prevencyone to rest secured of hym undere your Lp. myndfull fauoure, for wich, with all other your graces, synce I can noe farther meryght, I will be thankfull as I am bounde, and my best wishes shall evere attende you, and hartye prayers for the lenkethnynge of your happy dayes to the comforte of your frendes and worthye staye to thys our commone wealth. So I seas your Lp. farther trouble, and remayne deuotede

"To do you all honore and sarues,

"L. LEYCESTER."

It would appear, indeed, that the unhappy position in which the countess was placed excited the sympathy and commiseration of some of the great officers of the state, and the Lord High Treasurer seems to have recommended her as a person to whom the guardianship of young people might safely be entrusted, for we have another holograph letter from her to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who was High Treasurer in 1609, endorsed in the December of that year, and which again contains a reference to a wardship, and runs as follows:

"My good Lord, I shuld hould my self uerye unworthye of thys and all your hyghe

Digitized by Google

fauours, if I dyde not acknowledge with greatest thankfullnes your noble bountye therine, besechinge your Lp. to exsepte the widdow's myght, wich for want of other meryght, shall be my hartye prayers to God for your long lyf and health that many may be made styll happye by you; I assure your Lp. your honorable fauoure, wich the world now may take notyce of, doth me mor good then the gyft it self, thoe it be far mor then I can any way desarue, but what I can I will, and leue the rest to God, whoe contenew your goodnes, and mak you euere happye as I infynyghtlye wish, whoe doth allways rest

"Your good Lp. to loue and honore you,

"L. LEYCESTER.

"Your Lp. may be sure I will ews the ward well, hys frends puttynge hym afore into my custodye."

It was in 1606 that the countess's grandson, Robert Devereux, the third and last Earl of Essex of that name, married the wretched Frances Howard, the second daughter of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, the bride being at that time but thirteen and the bridegroom only fourteen years of age. The misery of this union, the declaration of its nullity, Lady Essex's crimes and condemnation with her paramour Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset, for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who was poisoned by them in September 1614, must have added fresh pangs to those already endured by the aged countess. After Essex in 1609 or 1610 discovered the aversion which his wife entertained for him, and became aware of the nature of the feelings with which she regarded his rival, he left her entirely; and when the sentence of nullity of the marriage was pronounced in 1614, went to reside with his grandmother, who was still living in retirement at Drayton. The following letter, which is holograph, and is written in a very tremulous hand, shows us, as well as do her own words, that the countess now began to feel the infirmities of age. It is addressed to her grandson, or as she styles him, "my honorable dere sonne," Robert Rich Earl of Holland, and is undated; but it must have been written after 1624, as the earl was not raised to that dignity till that year, and at this period the countess was over eighty-four years old.

"My nobille good Sonne, if my oulde weake hand would sarve me, I should requit your ofte kynd memorye better; but were I more to recommende thys worthye barrer, my spesyall good frend, whos onlye desyre is to be made knowne unto you, he is in such place as it may be smale to you, but may doe you sarves, he loves all your frendes and honors you much for the good he bears; and so, being werye, I recommend my hartye love with God's best blessinge to your worthye self, your noble ladye, and all yours. Restynge evere your grandmother derly lovinge you,

"L. LEYCESTER.

Digitized by Google

"Thys berare, Mr. Chamberlayne, hath done manye pleasurs for my friends at my request."

The next letter, which is addressed to her "honorable good sonne, the Earl of Carlisle," is also written to her grandson. It is endorsed 1629, and it shows clearly that the countess was still a woman of business, notwithstanding her troubles and her extreme age. It is written to James Hay Earl of Carlisle, husband of Lucy Percy, daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland, by Dorothy the Countess of Leicester's daughter by the Earl of Essex.

"My Lord, I mak noe dowghte but you take it as intended for a kynes to let you have my hous, espesyallye upon thos tearmes you have thus long held it. Now parseiving you have noe great use of it, my request is that you wilbe pleased to leaue it and to delivier upe your leas that I may now dyspos of it; and I hope you will take into dew consederasyone how rewinous that hows is, and to afforde me the twoe yeares rent behynd, that I may have it presentlye repayred, otherwyse I thynk noe man will take it of me, and my smaule meanes will not well enduer so great a lose; so not doughtinge but your lordshippe will delle honorablye and frendlye with me and that spedelye, praying God to bles you and my noble daughter, as I hartylye wish and rest evere,

"Your l^{ps} grandmother,

"much honorynge you,

"L. LEYCESTER."

This letter is written in a very shaky hand, and gives evidence that the bodily powers of the old countess were at last beginning to fail her. She was not, however, yet quite *hors de combat*, for Mr. John Povy says, in a letter printed by Sir H. Ellis, quoted by Craik, and written to Sir Thomas Puckering in 1632, that "my lady of Leicester, being six years older" than her brother the Earl of Banbury, who was eighty-six, "can yet walk a mile in a morning," no slight feat for a lady of ninety-two, more especially when we reflect upon that eventful and troublous life which the Countess of Leicester had led.

Three years after this, upon Christmas day 1635, Letitia Knollys breathed her last. Her epitaph in the collegiate church of Warwick, which was written by her great-grandson Gervase Clifton, tells us that "that face, that hand, ... once was fairest in the land," that

"She that in her youth had bene
Darling to the maiden Quene,
Till she was content to quitt
Her favour for her favouritt.
. . . . . .
Thought it safest to retyre,
From all care and vaine desire,

Digitized by Google

To a private country cell;
Where she spent her days so well,
That to her the better sort
Came, as to an holy court,
And the poor that lived neare,
Dearth nor famine could not feare."[1]

He adds more in the same strain, which we can only hope to be as true as it is complimentary. The will of the countess, which has never yet been printed, runs thus :—

"In the name of God, Amen. I, LADY LETTICE COUNTESS OF LEICESTER, widow, being in perfect health and memorie, doe make and ordayne, under this myne owne hand, my last will and testament, the 15th of October, A.D. 1622, etc., etc."

After the formula bequeathing her soul to God, and expressing her belief in the consolations of religion, etc., etc., she goes on to desire that she may be buried without pomp at Warwick, by the side of her "dear lord and husband the Earl of Leicester, with whom I desire to lie entombed. I doe make and ordeyne for my executor, my hon^ble^ and dear grandchild the Earl of Essex, assuredly trusting that hee will see this my will in all things faithfully performed, which I entreate him of all loves to doe, praying him in the duty to God and the true love to me to see due performance according to my playne and true meaning of this my last will, even in uprightness of conscience, as I know my sonn would have it. And first I will that all my debts due, either in lawe or conscience, which I think now are not many [so that, after all, the countess had managed to quiet her creditors], may be paid with all convenient expedition. Then that my funeral and legacies be likewise discharged, with fitting allowance for all other travells and paynes in and concerning the performance of this business. Also I doe ordeyne to have my house continewed for one moneth after my decease, soe as my servants in that tyme may the better provyde for themselves, and because I have lyved all my life to my full proportion, it cannot be looked for that I should have much to bestowe, but onely to bring me to the ground, with some little memory to some few of my friends, and speciall regard to my servants, which I hope my deare son and the rest will see, according to my care, and as their case requires, performed. And therefore for my lands, goods, and chattell whatsoever, I appoint them to goe to the performance of my will in this manner and forme follow^s^. First, I give and bequeath to my dear son the E. of Essex, my greate diamond that I usually weare of my thumb, as my best jewel to my worthiest child, hoping he will accept of what else I may leave him, my will being performed, with God's blessing; that ring, if my son have no children, to my daughter of Hertford; I give to my dear sister, the Ladie Gerald, £50, with the jewell in my hatt I weare everie day. I give to my

[1] The whole of the epitaph is printed in Nichols' *Leicestershire*, vol. i, p. 11, p. 538; and in Pettigrew's *Chronicles of the Tombs*, p. 339.

Digitized by Google

dear brother, Sir Francis Knolles, £100; I give to my dear sister, the Ladie Lawarе, £20; I give to servant, Christopher Kettle, £100, and to his wife £100, my chamber plate, with the bed she lies in, and furniture, with what else I give her with myne owne hand. And so to any other.[1] I give lynnens to Grace Kettle, the rest of both to Besse. To Bridget, £xx. To the rest of my gentlemen £40 a-piece, and to my preacher £50. To all my other servants, let them be considered according to the tyme of their service at the discretion of my executors, especially entreating my son to be good to my old servants, that they may enjoy with his favor the places and livings they have of me. And that he will, for my sake, protect them. Kettle I most chiefly recomend for his true honestie, being such a servant as I think few masters have; divers others are honest and serviceable, as my son knows; but I will charge him no further then hee please, onely to be good unto them. [I doe give to my daughter of Hertford my playne tablett, with her father's picture in it, and [as to] the pearle at it, this is otherwise disposed];[2] for the rest of my grandchildren I have nothing worthie to give them, but doe heartily pray to God to blesse them all and theirs. I doe gyve to the poore at Warwicke and here £100. For all other charges according to my ability and discrecion of my executors.

"LEICESTER."

Then follow these codicils:—

"I doe give to my daughter of Hertford my sable with the head, and my unicornes horne. I doe give to my young sonne, Gervas Clifton, my best great pearle to hang at his eare, and the hatband and a diamond ring, with Gods blessing. I give to my sonne, S^r^ Walter Devereux, fiftie pieces and a diamond ring, with Gods blessing. I give to my little daughter, the Lady Arbella, my cheyne of smallest perle, with Gods blessing.

"LEICESTER."

"I have had no counsell herein but God and myself, wherefore I desire my noble sonne to make the best of all faultes and fayles according to my true meaning. 25 Mar. 1634. Delivered and published by the s^d^ countess, in the presence of us, Rich^d^. Chamberleyne, Humfrey Colles, Grace Kettle.

"Proved at London on the 17th of January, 1634."

Thus, then, having reached the age of ninety-four, having been born in the reign of Henry VIII, and lived through those of Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, James I, and a portion of that of Charles I, what changes of national faith, politics, dress, customs, and modes of thought had not this noble lady witnessed? Happy is it for us that we live in

[1] In this place are several words struck through with the pen in the original.

[2] This is erased or rather struck through in the original.

Digitized by Google

quieter times, and that those who are most exalted in rank and position, are also the most conspicuous for their domestic virtues. In this respect, indeed, if in no other

"ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι."

Our object, however, is not that of moralists, but of antiquaries; and to us the biography of the aged Countess of Leicester presents food for contemplation, not so much in the study of what should be the end and aim of man's existence here, as a measure of comparison between the modes of life in our own times and those now so long gone by; a memorial stone, as it were, placed on the path of history to indicate our social progress from one generation to another.

Digitized by Google

ON AN EARLY MANUSCRIPT IN THE MUNIMENT ROOM IN THE GUILDHALL, LEICESTER.

BY

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE,

SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE muniment room of the borough of Leicester is very rich in early records of the greatest interest, and I am able to state, with still greater satisfaction, for it is one of a few exceptional cases, that they are well appreciated by those who have authority over them, and well taken care of. They contain materials for what might be made a full and important history of a mediæval town. Among them there are one or two volumes of manuscript which are not, properly speaking, records; two of which are early collections of the statutes of the realm, and another is of a much more miscellaneous character. It is to this latter manuscript that I wish to call attention.

The manuscript to which I allude forms a tolerable sized quarto volume, consisting of fragments of apparently not less than three books bound together. The first and largest portion is a private note-book, a sort of common place book, of a man who appears, from the contents, to have been a schoolmaster and a priest; for his notes, which are chiefly grammatical, but in part also theological, were evidently intended for use in teaching. It is written in a hand of, I think, the earlier half of the fourteenth century, and consists in its present condition, and it seems to be imperfect at the beginning, of thirty-seven leaves, or seventy-four pages. In reading it over rather cursorily I find on page thirty-six, after a metrical Latin version of the Lord's Prayer, and four lines on transubstantiation, the following words, "*Te dicere tuum pater noster frequenter ecclesiam et salubre anime tue ut deleas que nequiter commicisti. Amen. Sede Roger Wewlock.*" From the manner in which this is introduced, I suspect we shall be justified in considering that this Roger Wewlock was the individual who compiled the book. This passage, and many other faults in his Latin, show that he was no great scholar, and he probably was in this respect on a par with the ordinary class of schoolmasters of his time, who were not capable of teaching without book, though, as some of the tracts he has copied into his book are accompanied with explanations of words in French as well as in English, we may suppose that his scholars were not of the lowest rank. His collections are interesting

Digitized by Google

both for many curious little scraps which occur among them, and from the circumstance that they have preserved a great number of early English words, and because they enable us to form a notion of what the schoolmaster who was then "abroad" taught his scholars, and of the extent and general character of his own learning. It must be remarked at the same time that these miscellaneous collections of the mediæval schoolmasters are by no means uncommon among our old manuscripts.

The first tract in this collection is entitled at the end an *Expositio Psalterii*, and consists of a commentary, chiefly verbal and grammatical, on the vulgate Latin text of the book of Psalms. The Latin words are not unfrequently explained in English, as in the following examples, which are all that I have noticed worth extracting.

"erenacius, An^{ce} *nowrchoun.*
funiculum, i. parvum funem, proprie dicitur An^{ce} *wypcorde.*
ira condissimum est, An^{ce} *ful of wenym.*
rupem, An^{ce} *roche.*
palpare, i. tingere vel contractare, et dicitur An^{ce} *grope.*
balducta, An^{ce} *crousine.*
maturitate, dicitur An^{ce} *ripenis.*
uret, i. ardebit, sed urere An^{ce} *for to scorchi.*
ascultantes, An^{ce} *herkynyn.*
buscella est aliunde quantitas panis, An^{ce} *moscele.*
candor, An^{ce} *wythe.*
plaustrum, An^{ce} *a wayne.*
tentoria, An^{ce} *pavelounys.*
armentum dicimus collectio magnorum animalium ut boum, vaccarum, dicitur An^{ce} *haras.*
cete dicuntur grandissimi pisses, An^{ce} *whalis.*"

This tract is followed by much matter of a very miscellaneous character, such as scraps of information and memorial verses on various subjects, theological, scientific, and grammatical, but chiefly the last. The character of some of the verse may be judged from the opening lines of a short grammatical poem on page 6.

"Ignota vocabula multis exponentur
Metris in sequentibus, annoque legentur,
Hiis datis ut scioli majus informentur,
Et legendo melius sensus perscrutentur."

These are followed, on page 7, by another short grammatical gloss, interspersed with English words, of which the following are the more striking.

"basiliscus, A^{e} *a cokatris.*
cipo, as, A^{e} *strane.*
hoc fimarium, A^{e} *myddyng.*
fortunatus, A^{e} *appy.*
hoc secarium, A^{e} *teme.*
sum indampnus, A^{e} *y am harmeles.*
eucaridus, An^{ce} *seli.*
accaridus, An^{ce} *unsely.*
tantisper, An^{ce} *evene so mochyle.*
usurpare, An^{ce} *take into honde.*
opplere, A^{ce} *stope.*

Digitized by Google

Among the scraps on page 9 is the following rather quaint couplet on the transgression of our first parents.

Pro quodam pomo sit miser omnis homo;
Adam primus homo dampnavit secula pomo.

Then come technical verses on the ecclesiastical garments and on the various orders of the priesthood. On page 17 the seven keys of science are thus enumerated.

Hec sunt vij. claves scientie:
Interrogare frequenter,
Audire diligenter,
Credere fideliter,
Orare utiliter,
Operare fortiter,
Diligere ardenter,
Intelligere sapienter.

The following (page 18) are the "four houses (or dwellings) of man."

Quot sunt domus hominis? 4, que prima est in utero, secunda in mundo, tertia in sepulcro, quarta in celo, vel in inferno. Prima domus est humilis, secunda est labilis, tertia est flebilis, quarta est laudabilis vel horribilis. Prima est lacrimosa, secunda laboriosa, tertia tenebrosa, quarta gloriosa vel maledicta.

After similar short enumerations and explanations of the nine *pene infernales*, the sacraments of the Church, the cardinal virtues and the deadly sins, and much more of the same sort of matter, the compiler of the manuscript has inserted (page 27) a longer article, a *Sermo de Deo et de peccatoribus*, compiled from St. Basil, and also interspersed with a few English words and phrases. This is followed by a tract which shows that our schoolmaster was superstitious in more ways than one: he sought to interpret dreams, and perhaps he made a profit by it. The tract alluded to is a collection of interpretations of dreams, arranged alphabetically, and known as the Somnarius of Daniel, which here bears the title, or rubric, *Hic incipit Sompnarius Danielis prophete, quem composuit in Babilonia in diebus Nabogodonosor regis, secundum ordinem alphabeti.* The pretended treatise of Daniel, which he is said to have compiled by Nebuchadnezzar's special order, was, indeed, one of the grand authorities for the interpretation of dreams in the middle ages. Two or three examples will be sufficient to give a notion of its contents.

Arbores cum fructu videre lucrum signat.
Cardones comedere, inimici maledicunt de te.
Osculum dare dampnum significat.
Soles plures videre gaudium signat.
Sponsalia facere dampnum signat.
Uxorem ducere dampnum significat.
Zizanias seminare scandalum significat.
Zonam singere (*for* cingere) lucrum significat.

At page 36, we have the following metrical version of the Lord's Prayer in Latin, already alluded to.

O pater alme, tuum nomen sanctificetur,
Adveniatque tuum regnum per secla beatum,

Digitized by Google

Velle tuum fiat in celo (*sic*, for *terra*) sicut in altis,
Tu panem nostrum da nobis cotidianum,
Debita dimitte nobis ut nos nunc inimicis,
Et non permittas quod nos temptatio mittat(?),
Sed tutela malo tua nos defendat ab omni.

Here occurs the name of Roger Wewlok, as mentioned above; and among the short scraps which follow, are various proverbs, wise sayings, and a well-known prognostication, given in Latin in Leonine verse, of which the following is a selection. The first, I hardly need say, is a version of the well-known English proverb, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," and proves that that proverb was in existence as far back as the fourteenth century.

Plus valet in palmis ales unus quam duo silvis.

Si vox sit rauca, bibe potum quem bibit auca,

Si sis vir fortis, non des tua robora scortis;
Scribitur in portis, mulier est janua mortis.

Quid tua cotidie prodest peccata fateri,
Si facis hodie turpius sicut heri.

Nummus adoratur, sine nummo nullus amatur;
Qui perdit nummos carnales perdit amicos.

Parum si tu habeas, parum erogabis;
Multum si possidias, multum tu donabis.

Si tu nichil habeas, nichil tu largiris,
Dandi cum optinias bonum velle viris.

Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni;
Si nix vel pluvia, designat tempora cara;
Si fiant venti, generantur prelia genti;
Si fiant nebule, pereunt animalia queque.

On page 37, we have the following rather curious list of objects the names of which ought to be known by a priest.

Omnia ista verba pertinet presbitero scire.

Hic calix,	*a chalix*	Hoc feretrum, tri,	*a bere.*
Hec casula, e,	*a chesebil.*	Hoc corporale,	*a corporas.*
Hec infula, e,	idem.	Hic ysopus,	*a sperges.*
Hec fiola, e,	*a cruhet.*	Hec tabula, e,	*ze paxpord.*
Hec patena, e,	i. coopetorium calicis.	Hoc olium, i,	*oyle.*
Hoc turrubilum,	*a sensere.*	Hec anpulla,	*a nobe.*
Hoc tus, ris,	*stor.*	Hec alba, e,	*a nobe.*
Hic ambo, nis,	*a lectur.*	Hoc sintorium,	*a gyrdil.*
Hoc lectum, ti,	idem.	Hec amicissisia, e,	*a namit.*
		Hec stola, e,	*a stol.*

Digitized by Google

Hec fanona,	*a fanon.*	Hec catabunda,	*a chairnel.*
Hec heppica, e,	*a hers.*	Hoc cadaver,	idem.
Hec tunica, e,	*a tunikyl.*	Hoc crismatorium,	*ȝe elfat.* [aram.
Hec talmatica, e,	idem.	Hoc superaltare,	est ille qui jacet super
Hoc lampas, dis,	*a lompe.*	Hoc missale,	*a masbok.*
Hic serius,	*a tapir.*	Hoc ordinale,	*ordenaribok*
Hic lichinus, ni,	*a weke.*	Hoc gradale,	*a gradalle.*
Hoc vitrum, tri,	*glas.*	Hoc prosecionale,	*ȝe presecennal bok.*
Hec fenistra vitria,	*a glasin window.*	Hoc porteforium,	*a portos*
Hoc ventilogium, gii,	*a weȝercok.*	Hoc legendarium,	*a legent.*
Hoc monumentum, ti,	*a tombe.*	Hec legenda, de,	idem.
Hoc sepulcrum,	idem.	Hoc martilogium,	*a martilog.*
Hec tumba, be,	idem.	Hoc calendarium,	*a calondere.*
Hec arca,	*a serryn.*	Hoc calendare,	idem.
Hec cresta,	*a creste.*	Hec trabes,	*a bem.*
Hec canella, e,	idem.	Hic batillis,	*a clapir.*
Hic cancellus,	*a choncelle.*	Hoc lavatrum,	*a lavatory.*
Hoc vestiarium,	*a vestri.*	Hec pixis, dis, di,	*a box*
Hoc vestibulum,	idem.	Hoc orilogium,	*a norlag.*
Hec capa, pe,	*a cope.*	Hoc armariolum,	*a narmori.*
Hec lanterna, ne,	*a lanterne.*	Hec sanbucus,	*a crose.*
Hoc suppellissium,	*a suppliys.*	Hoc fertum,	*a nobley.*
Hec fons sacra,	*ȝe fante.*		

These are followed immediately by a list of Latin adverbs, of which, for their philological interest, I give such as are accompanied with the English equivalent.

Hic,	*here.*	Unde,	*weȝyn.*	Solomodo, Dumtaxat,	An^{ce} *honlich.*
Hillic,	*ȝere.*	Hulluc,	*ȝedir.*		
Huc,	*hidir.*	Quinetiam, Preterea,	An^{ce} *overȝat.*	Odiosus,	A^{e} *loht.*
Histinc,	*heȝyn, ȝeȝyn.*			Nichilominus,	An^{ce} *naȝeles.*
Hac,	*herfort.*	Presertim, Saltem, Precipue, Potissime,	An^{ce} *namlich.*	Ylico,	An^{ce} *son.*
Hillac,	*ȝerfort.*			Eloquencius,	i. *renablih.*
Quo,	*whodir.*			Seriose,	i. *atret.*
Qua,	*warforȝe.*			Cumhoc,	i. *wyt ȝe nonis.*
Ubi,	*ware.*			Repentine,	*sodenlyh.*

The last part of this page, and a part of the page following, are occupied with some very curious English verses, translated into Latin rhymes, which possess so much interest, as illustrations of early English popular literature, that I have copied them just as they stand in the manuscript.

Woys hat a wyif, and loȝt fort to suync,
Lige longe in hyr bed, and lef fort drinc,
Scho were betir in ȝe se fer from ȝe brinc,
In a botymles bot, to lern fort sinc.

Digitized by Google

Qui pravam habet conjugem, qui odit laborare,
Diu lecto retulat, amatque potare,
In mari ipsa fuit digna procul a margine
In lembo carente fundo ad discendum mergere.

Sunt tria que nullus poterit tibi conferre usus;
Scribere perfecte, versus componere recte,
Quod magis est mirum, pulcrum proferre Latinum.

Lord Jhesu Crist, ȝat sitit abow hous,
Of ȝos foul glotunis delivir ȝis hous;
Wan ȝou lochist on me, as cat doth on ȝe mous,
About ȝi bregirdil ligit manni a luus.

Jhesu Christe Domine, qui supra nos sedit,
De isto vili garilo et solus istas edes,
Super me tu respicis, sicut cato murem,
Multi sunt pudiculi circa lumbare vile.

Al clerky lov, clercyn low,
Ys wyrt at Oxinfort on ȝe scolows dor.
ȝef clerkyn lowe hawe y ne may,
I may kys ȝe scol dor and far in mi way.
Alas! clerkyn lowe fal from me,
So doth ȝe lef on grofys tre.

Omnis amor clerici, amor clerici,
Scribitur Oxonie ad hostium studii.
Si amorem clerici habere nequiam,
Osculabor hostium, et scito fugiam.
Omne quod amavi descidit a me,
Sicut flores virides discendunt ab arbore.

Among the fragments of different kinds in this part of the manuscript are one or two scraps of Latin hymns, and the following example of a Latin rhyming Christmas carol.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, unde gaudet Jerusalem?
Puer natus in Bedlem, unde gaudet Jerusalem,
Et assumsit carnem filii verbum Dei patris altissimi,
Sicut sponsus de talamo prosescit sanctus ex utero.
Et ponit in presepio regnante sine termino.
Cognovit bos et asinus quod puer erat Dominus.
Reges de Saba veniunt, aurum, thus, mirra offerunt.
Intrantes domum invicem, novem salutant hominem.
Trino Deo sempiterno benedicamus Domino!
Jerusalem, Jerusalem, unde gaudet Jerusalem?

Page 40 is occupied by tables of numerals, expressed in Latin, and on pages 41 and 42 are given a few of the curious Latin stories used by the clergy in their sermons, which

Digitized by Google

are so frequently met with in mediæval manuscripts. Those which occur here are not new, with the exception, perhaps, of the following, which contains another fragment of early English popular verse.

Quidam erat paterfamilias qui optinebat quendam puerum, quem amabat carnaliter et carissime, et docuit eum maledicebre matri sue, fratribus, et sororibus, et insuper maledicebat Jhesu Christo, et sicut in omnibus maledictis tuebatur cum illa quod mater sua nequivit eum castigare, et ille existebat in suam amoris, sed Seneca (i. doctor) dixit, et tantum iste puer infirmabatur, et ita quod fuit in examine mortis, tunc pater suus accepit eum in brachiis, sed tenebat puer, clamabat pater . . . icendo Deo, et ait,

Fadir, y may no langir duhel,
Hy mo . . . to ȝe pyin of hel,
Me ȝen that mi modir counssay,
ȝarfor y may sey weylauey.
My breȝyr and my sostir also,
ȝarfor y may say weilauo.
Nou iste fend so stro[n]g,
ȝat y sahl in hel hong.
Alas! ȝat y bor evir was,
Nou y am in an ivil chans,
Hadis thu me ybet wel,
Y sold noht go to ȝe peyn of hel;
Bethyr hyt weir me han chast,
ȝan in hel be now ycast.
Neu is no bot to cri mersi,
In hel nis no remedi.
ȝan he crihit evir, alas! alas!
Y am yput from Godis fas!
Et tunc obiit, et demones rapuerunt eum a manibus patris sui.

The following couplet is curious only for its popular character.

Mater! Quid, fili? peto te, dulsissima, ba, ba.
O pater! o fili! Mihi placet oscula, da, da.

The last articles in this manuscript, beginning with page 43, are grammatical commentaries, similar to that on the Psalter with which the manuscript commences, on the offices of the Church, and on the Epistles and Gospels for the year, the latter concluding with the rubric, *Expliciunt omnia dificilia verba Epistolarum et Ewangeliorum per totum annum.* They are all interspersed with glosses in English and French, but it will be sufficient to give a selection of these, made in perusing the text very rapidly.

torques, An^{ce} *a beige.*
scopo, An^{ce} *baleye.*
rubigo, An^{ce} *rouste.*
absinthinus, *wormwod.*
auricalco, G. *golt swat.*
staterem bilibris, *dous lymuris(?).*
fissa prerupta, vel rupes, An^{ce} *trey bowthement.*
ophoc est amica sacerdotis.
unguetarii, qui vendunt unguentum.
focarii, qui vendunt panes.
sista, An^{ce} *a cosur.*
spurius, *bastard.*
egiponus, i. similator, An^{ce} *maumet.*
plaustrum, *charke.*
wltuosus, *hemsom.*
pindere, *stamp.*
hec brancea, *squinasy.*
hec assia, An^{ce} *bradax.*
hic forus, *snytel of a beustreng.*
hec deciplina, *trap.*
hec muscipula, *muffal.*
musio, vel pilax, *a cat.*
ficella, i. cimis, An^{ce} *chesefat.*
cirpeam, i. vas vemineum gracile, An^{ce} *baschet.*
lupanar, An^{ce} *bordel.*
animetur, G^{e} *seyt ardif.*
delphine, i. pisces magni, An^{ce} *porpes.*
frixorius, A^{e} *frituris.*

Digitized by Google

masticans, i. comedens, vel potius inter dentes dicens, A^{e} *thewende.*
sambuca est quoddam genus simphonie, An^{ce} *a croud.*
algentem, G^{e} *freydaunt.*
et sunt fessenine carmina qui mulieri dicit sirtatinas ut puer sopiat, A^{e} *long lligges(?).*
fc^{e}ta(?), A^{e} *bordones*, ex equo et asina generantur.
sarculus, A^{e} *wedok.*
spolia, *espoyletz.*
suspiria, An^{ce} *sikynge.*
farina, An^{ce} *mel.*
tympanus, An^{ce} *tabur.*
hec satrapa, i. *eyendey*, vel princeps.
valde figant, G^{e} *cichent.*
invasisti, G^{e} *asaylastez.*
cilicis, An^{ce} a *hayre.*
poplex, An^{ce} *le home.*
hec larva, An^{ce} *a vice.*
hec limes, An^{ce} *a balc.*
hostia, An^{ce} *a therstwalt.*
corigia, An^{ce} *swonges.*
garrire, An^{ce} *chirce*, et pertinet aves.
saturiens, An^{ce} *surdant.*
ebullire, *welep.*
mauva, est panis anglicus *gingivre.*
hoc enigma, Anglice, *a redul.*
flagris, An^{ce} *strugues.*
vectibus, *per clouons.*
hoc tritorium, An^{ce} *a tabul dormaunt.*
exagerans, *mautiland.*
moros, An^{ce} *bereiis.*
rusca, An^{ce} *behyve.*
obsona, *a wake-mete.*
hic crocus, *saffrun.*
hec sisina, *stryne.*
stygma, An^{ce} *pose.*
attavus, *heldfadur.*
tigurrium, i. pauper domus, *a holet.*
abhominabilis, *wlatfol.*
voragines, An^{ce} *swolous.*
butyrum, An^{ce} *botere.*
enulia, An^{ce} *dokke.*
ren, is, An^{ce} *ledeney.*
pululans, An^{ce} *grafes blomede.*
turgescendo, Gallice, *en enflant*, Anglice, *bollende.*
pusellanimis, An^{ce} *couward.*
vomer, i. instrumentum aratri, An^{ce} *a soke.*
hec prunis, i. arbor, An^{ce} *a bolastre.*
hoc enigma, An^{ce} *a redeles.*
non acuti sunt, An^{ce} *anege.*
hec cisterna, An^{ce} *a pute*, et proprie, An^{ce} *asone-pute.*
vaht, i. raka, An^{ce} *fy.*
hec lactuca, An^{ce} *letuus.*
hoc nasturcium, Ac^{e} *tongarsyn.*
hic grestus, i. ruscus, Ac^{ne} *fyrrys.*
hoc chiminile, *a laure.*
hoc acetum, An^{ce} *heysel.*
hec vepris, An^{ce} *a breyer.*
hec tribulus, An^{ce} *a breire.*
hic fullo, An^{ce} *a towker*, et herba ejus vocatur Anglice, *a tesyl.*
hic favus, An^{ce} *a honycom.*
hoc balsamum, An^{ce} *baum.*
major wille, An^{ce} *a mere.*
palmites, An^{ce} *branches.*

This is evidently the conclusion of Roger Wewlock's manuscript, for the last page is blank, with the exception of a few lines in a much later handwriting, and some rude attempts at drawing with a pen.

The next portion of the MS. is a theological treatise of no interest, consisting of twelve leaves, and written apparently in an earlier hand than the other, perhaps as old as the close of the thirteenth century.

This is followed by a law treatise, of fifteen leaves, in a writing of the latter part of the reign of Edward III, on the drawing up of charters of various descriptions, interspersed with a great number of examples of such instruments, intended as formulæ for

Digitized by Google

precedents. The value of old treatises of this kind arises from the circumstance that the forms are generally copies of real documents, the originals of which are probably now no longer in existence, and that they throw light not only on the social condition of the age to which they belong, and on the forms of legal practice, but sometimes, also, on important historical events. The original documents are sometimes copied verbatim, while in some such treatises the names are omitted and their places supplied by letters of the alphabet. The latter is the case with the treatise contained in the Leicester manuscript; but one document contained in it, a charter between an abbot and a burgess of a town (page 111), gives the date as the 45th year of the reign of Edward III., which would be A.D. 1371, no doubt the period at which the manuscript was written. It appears to be complete at the beginning, but is imperfect at the end.

The last manuscript in the volume is a fragment of another grammatical treatise consisting of seven leaves (pages 129—142), written also in a hand of the fourteenth century, not unlike that of Roger Wewlock's manuscript. It contains the list of Latin verbs of the first conjugation, with the first six lines of that of the second conjugation, accompanied by their equivalents in English, thus forming a Latin-English glossary of verbs. The following is a list of such as seem to me to have any interest for their English interpretations.

Verba prime conjugationis habentia b ante o.

Labo, *for to slyd*, titubare, *to stumly*.
Conglobo, *wyn togedyr*.
Subo, *for to brym*, ad modum porcorum.
Debarbo, *for to save berdys*.
Acerbo, *mak betyr or sowre*.
Lymbo, *for to hem a clothe*.
Hic lymbis, *a hem*.

Verba prime conjugationis habentia c ante o.

Uncto, *for to mak a crok*.
Succo, *blou wyht a chek*.
Cortico, *tak of the bark*.
Enigmatico, *rede radelys*.
Fisco, *for to tak into the kynges honde*.
Oppaco, *for to mak mek*.
Pico, *for to clemy wyd pychk*.
Inpudico, *for to mak unchast*.
Eradico, *drau up rote*.
Turifico, *for to gyf recels*.
Occo, *to mak ascore*.
Caco, *for to mak foul*.
Seco, *for to kyte*.
Reseco, *for to kyte agayne*.
Sacrifico, *for to haloue*.
Herpico, *for to harronys*.
Frico, *to frot*.
Mico, *for to hannyl croumys*.
Vendico, *for to chalange*.
Pedico, *for to staump* cum pedibus.
Truncco, *for to coit a stok*.
Claudico, *for to halt*.
Mellifico, *for to mak honiswete*.
Loco, *for to pyd in hyre*.
Disloco, *pout out of hyre*.
Ratifico, *for wouchsaf*.
Proco, *for to wouy*.
Visco, *for to lyme, or to tak wyd lyme*.
Falco, *for to mowy*.
Judico, *for to deme*.
Lubrico, *for to sleyd*.
Remulco, *hale in lime*.
Gravido, *mak wyth chyld*.
Calco, *for to foule*. Conculco, idem.
Panifico, *for to bak*.
Excommunico, *for to mansy*.
Fabrico, *for to forge*.
Muco, *snyt ymes*.
Abdico, *for to agayn say*, vel contradicere.

Verba prime conjugationis habentia d ante o.

Redundo, *for to ebbe*.
Nudo, *for to go nakyd*.
Nodo, i. nodos facere, *mak botonnys*.
Denodo, *for to unkynt* (sic, for unknyt).
Ledo, *for to staunche*.
Subsalido, *for to tred or mak sad*.
Fundo, *for to slyng, or maka ground*.
Exheredo, *for to deseryt a man of eritage*.
Incrudo, *mak raulie*.

Digitized by Google

Emendo, *for to amen.*
Gravido, *mak wyht chylde.*
Acomodo, *for to lene.*
Discordo, *for to discorde.*
Limpido, *mak clere.*
Amando, *hyde or send out.*
Mussido, *mak mowle.*

Verba prime conjugationis habentia e ante o.

Beo, *mak holy.*
Laqueo, *for to tak in gyle.*
Creo, *mak a thy[n]g of noght.*
Nauseo, *for to brak.*
Calceo, *for to hos or schoy.*

Verba prime conjugationis habentia ff ante o.

Offo, i. facere offas, *mak soppis.*
Stufo, *for to stuf.*
Minigrafo, *wryt wit vermeloun.*

Verba prime conjugationis habentia g ante o.

Indago, *for to hunty.*
Vestigo, *for to sek.*
Rigo, *for to mak dewy.*
Prolongo, *for to draw alange.*
Mitigo, *for to swage.*
Conjugo, *for to yok togedyr.*
Profligo, *for to tourment.*
Castigo, i. domare, *for to endaunt.*
Fumigo, *for to reke.*
Relego, i. perscribere, *for to weny.*
Colligo, *for to byn togedyr.*
Segrego, *for to deparit.*
Disgrego, *for to sckatry.*
Treugo, *tak trewys.*

Verba prime conjugationis habentia i ante o.

Devio, *for to go out of way.*
Nuncio, *say message.*
Socio, i. socium facere, *mak felausype.* [*swaht.*
Facio, i. cum facia ligare, *for to*
Pictacio, *for to bochy*, sicut sutores faciunt.
Excorio, *for to hylde.*
Manubrico, *for to mak a haft.*
Capicio, *for to do on the hode.*
Allinio, *for to alegge.*

Verba prime conjugationis habentia ll ante o.

Stillo, *for to dropy.*
Sorbillo, *for to soupe.*
Maculo, *for to wemy.*
Vigilo, *for to wak.*
Mutulo, *for to mayny.*
Fullo, *for to walk cloth.*
Stumulo, *for to prycy.*
Gracillo, *for to kaccil als a hern.*
(*A leaf appears to be wanting here.*)
Vellito, *for to drau up by the*
Planto, *for to hympe.* [*rotys.*
Limito, *mak a mark.*
Doto, i. dotem facere, *mak douer or gyf.*
Inputo, *for to wende.*
Temto, *for to fonde.*
Obtento, *for to purchas.*
Contento, *mak apayd.*
Demento, *mak wode.*
Sto, *for to ston.*
Ossito, *for to gony.*
Susputo, *for to undirwende.*
Sputo, *for to spute.*
Tuto, *mak sekyr.*
Tristo, *mak sory.* [*mak hevy.*
Turbulento, i. turbulentum facere,
Verrito, i. verrere, *for to wroty.*
Pigrito, *wax slou.*
Exagito, *for to dryfe.*

Verba prime conjugationis habentia v ante o.

Cavo, *mak holgh.*
Gravo, *mak wyt chylde.*
Pravo, *mak vrewyte.*
Lavo, *for to wache.*
Clunagito, *wag wyt the lenden.*
Arcuo, *mak a bou.*
Protervo, *mak wykid.*
Nivo, *for to snewe.*

Verba prime conjugationis habentia x ante o.

Laxo, *for to reles.*
Malaxo, *for to knede.*
Mataxo, *for to hechil.*
Pexo, *for to keme.*
Pandoxo, *for to brewe.*
Coaxo, *crow as a frog.*

Verba prime conjugationis habentia y ante o.

Hyo, *for to gapy.*

Verba prime conjugationis habentia z ante o.

Lixa, *a quistroun.*
Baptizo, *for to ful a chyld.*
Calamizo, *for to pyp in a red.*
Preconizo, i. commendare, *or crey als a bedel.*
Tymphanizo, *for to tympayn.*
Caracantarizo, *for to syft mel.*

Deponentia prime conjugationis.

Procor, *for to wowy.*
Adulor, *for to be a losunjour.*
Machinor, *for to compase.*
Execror, *for to wrey.*
Miror, *wundry.*
Palustror, *for to wrasteli.*
Venor, *for to hunty.*
Lucror, *for to wyn.*
Minor, *for to thret.*
Varicor, *for to halt.*
Nugor, *for to say tryfelis.*
Opinor, *for to wene.*
E..., male loqui, *for to rotil.*
Jantor, *for to dyne.*
Obsonor, i. obsonium comedere, *for to ete rere soper.*

Verba communia prime conjugationis.

Moror, *for to byde.*
Osculor, *for to kys.*
Hospicor, *for to herbron.*
Expliciunt verbalia prime conjugationis.

Digitized by Google

NETLEY ABBEY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF RECENT EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES.

BY

THE REV. EDMUND KELL, M.A., F.S.A.

IN April 1860, Thomas Chamberlayne, Esq., Cranbury Park, Hants, commissioned his surveyor, Charles Pink, Esq., to superintend a very considerable clearance of stone and rubbish from the site of Netley Abbey, furnishing sufficient stone to build a sea-wall of a quarter of a mile in length along the Southampton water. Subsequent investigations to which the undertaking gave rise laid open portions of the abbey long concealed, and have thrown some new light on its history and locality. Besides removing large brick or stone partitions erected by successive lay occupants for their own especial convenience, the workmen cleared away débris to the depth of three to four feet, both from the interior and exterior of the abbey. These clearances of rough but verdure-mantled masonry, where the rude nettle and tangled briar had long thriven in rank luxuriance, though changing in some respects the picturesque characters of the scenery, derived from the wild negligence in which it had so long reposed, and effacing also some of the relics of historical association connected with more recent residents of noble rank, reveal better its peculiarities as an ecclesiastical edifice. Certain portions of the structure which had been obscured or defaced by modern masonry now stand out in their pristine elegance, and when time shall have diminished the too great trimness which the recent levelling of the ground has given to its general aspect, and the newly planted trees and ivy shall have attained to a luxuriant growth, there can be little doubt but that the visitor least initiated in the knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture will see the advantage of the change. The increased appearance of magnitude given to the church by the removal of débris, and of numerous bushes and trees, and the uncovering of the bases of the ancient pillars, will alone be a compensation to the eye of taste. Moreover, the abbey had hitherto been grievously suffering from dilapidations by visitors, who were indiscriminately allowed, without any surveillance, to enter the ruins, and who had abused that privilege by defacing, or appropriating as relics, much valuable sculpture. Those anxious for the preservation of our national antiquities cannot, therefore, but rejoice that the proprietor has now adopted efficient means to prevent further spoliation by placing the abbey under the supervision of a porter, though attended with a trifling admission fee.

Digitized by Google

Having attended to the various operations in their progress, and having very freely and kindly received from the proprietor permission to make additional excavations on the site of the abbey, I beg to offer the result of my observations to the members of the British Archæological Association, especially as such an account seems called for as a sequence to the visit of the members to Netley in the Congress of 1855.

It may be desirable to preface the account with particulars, some of which have not heretofore been published, relative to the original occupants and the history of the abbey. Netley was the last founded of the three Cistercian abbeys in Hants; Quarr, in the Isle of Wight, bearing date 1132; and Beaulieu, 1204. According to Dugdale and Tanner, Netley Abbey was founded, in 1239, by Henry III, in memory of Peter de Rupibus, his preceptor. Dugdale states, that the Charter of King Henry III, dated the 35th of that reign, shows him to have been the founder of this monastery, which he calls St. Mary of St. Edward's Place, and that he endowed it with the land whereon it stood, as also those of Letley, Hune, Welew, Totinton, Gumeculne, Nordley, Deveral-Kingston, Waddon, Ayheley, and Lacton; and the revenues of Cherleton, Southampton, and Suthwark; as also one hundred acres in the manor of Schire with the advowson of its church, confirming all donations made or to be made to those monks.[1]

Tanner records that "King Henry III founded, in 1239, an abbey here for Cistercian monks from Beaulieu, and commended it to the patronage of St. Mary and St. Edward." Godwin and Leland, however, attribute the origin of the abbey to Peter de Rupibus, who died in 1233. I am inclined to agree with the latter opinion, from the circumstantial and decided evidence of the *Annals of Waverley*, to which my attention has been drawn by our associate, Mr. F. J. Baigent. The statement is dated 1239,[2] and records that Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, intended to found two abbeys of the Cistercian order, but was prevented by death from carrying his design into execution. Before his death he appropriated for this purpose a large sum of money, sufficient to found the abbey, and to furnish them with whatever other things were requisite according to any reasonable computation. Finally, after his death, were founded in this year by the acting executors of this bishop, one abbey in England, called "Locus Sancti Edwardi," and the monks came there from Bello Loco Regis (Beaulieu), on the day of

[1] See Charter appended to this paper, p. 92.

[2] *Annals of the Cistercian Abbey of Waverley, co. Surrey*, folio 134. Cottonian MS., Vespasian A, xvi. "Anno Dñi m.cc.xxxix. Petrus de Rupibus Wintoniensis Episcopus habuit in proposito ad hùc vivens fundare, duas abbatias ordinis Cisterciensis, sed morte prevento propositum suum nequaquam mancipavit effectui. Veruntamen ante mortem suam assignavit non modicam quantitatem pecuniæ, quæ ad illarum fundationem et alia necessaria juxta considerationem rationis posset sufficere. Denique post mortem ipsius videlicet hoc anno procurantibus ejusdem Episcopi executoribus fundatæ sunt una in Anglià et vocata est Locus Sancti Edwardi, venitque conventus ibi primo de Bello Loco Regis in diem Sancti Jacobi Apostoli (25° Julii). Altera in partibus transmarinis que Claritatis Dei nominatur."

Digitized by Google

St. James the Apostle (July 25th); the other abbey in parts beyond the seas, is called Claritatis Dei.

When Henry III is spoken of as the founder of Netley Abbey, reference may be made to his having granted it its charter, and to his confirmation twelve years after its foundation, viz., in 1251, of all the grants that had been made to it.

It may be mentioned, in connection with this inquiry, that in the late excavations there were discovered, incised on the base of one of the pillars which supported the tower (that on the north-east), the words, "H. Dei gratia Rex Angliæ," and over them the arms of England, a shield with the crest of three leopards.

As the Cistercian abbeys were all dedicated to St. Mary, it is probable that some structure had been before raised on this spot by St. Edward the Confessor, or had been dedicated to him, which gave to the site the name of St. Edward's Place, or Edwardsstowe. No ecclesiastical duty was performed by the monks of Netley at Southampton, the four churches of which were connected with the Priory of St. Dionysius, situated on the Itchen. Roger de Clare, three years after the foundation, in 1239, was a benefactor to the abbey. It was also endowed by Edmund Earl of Cornwall, Robert de Vere, and Walter de Burg. Planted, as Cistercian monasteries were, in secluded valleys and wild woodland districts, for the purpose of reclaiming the forests to cultivation, there was no doubt ample game in the vicinity. Large fish-ponds, and the adjoining Southampton water, supplied fish; and a cask of wine, from 1280, was annually furnished to the abbot from "those who took the wine for the king in Southampton," and helped to sustain the good fare and hospitality of the abbey. Timber was also occasionally sold by them, as appears from a transaction with the Corporation of Southampton. The revenues of Netley were valued by Dugdale, at the dissolution of the monasteries, at £100 : 1 : 8, and by Speed, at £160 : 2 : 9¼.

The name of Netley is a corruption from its original name of *Letley*. This is derived from the Latin "Lætus" joined to the Saxon "ley," meaning, "pleasant or fruitful field;" and certainly such a junction of words was never more appropriate, as a finer combination of beautiful scenery than that of the environs of Netley is rarely beheld. Beaulieu has a somewhat similar derivation, "Bello Loco."

The abbey does not appear to have produced any illustrious men. If we are to trust to Leland, there was a sad lack of literature among its members, as he asserts that there was only found one book at the time of the Dissolution, viz., *Rhetorica Ciceronis*. It is not probable, however, that this was the normal state of the abbey. We know that there was a scriptorium attached to Netley, that various books were necessarily transcribed; that the Cistercians were, as a body of men, learned; that there was a time when there was a loyal spirit among them to carry out the rules of their order, and that

Digitized by Google

MSS. must then have accumulated. It is more likely that the monks valuing their books took care that what they esteemed should not fall into the hands of the Commissioners of Henry VIII, who, on their part, were more intent on securing what they most coveted, the silver and gold.

Valuable relics of the abbey are not numerous. A few monumental slabs are recorded to have been found during some alterations at Netley Fort, now called Netley Castle (see plate v, ground-plan), which was partly constructed from the materials of the abbey. One is preserved, of a monk, and is now fixed in the wall of the octagon tower at Netley Castle; the name and date are illegible. The only other sepulchral slab was discovered during the late excavations on the north side of the cloister, about thirteen feet from the wall and four feet deep, a little to the west of the ancient doorway, into the nave, near which spot it has again been deposited. Its length was three feet, its breadth one foot one inch at the top, and ten inches and a half at the bottom. The crown of his head is shorn, and the cowl and fashion of the habiliments indicate the garb of the Cistercian monk. The inscription reads:

Johes Wade
1515
Obiit 11 die
1530

Some letters at the foot of the slab are illegible; they may be either part of a sentence or of a name. Mr. Baigent has conjectured that this monk, from his name being frequently mentioned in 1509, when John Carne was elected abbot, was probably in that year sub-prior or treasurer. It is recorded that the abbot paid on that occasion 13*s.* 4*d.* for a new rochet cloak for John Wade. No name of any monk of Netley had been previously published. By the kindness of Mr. F. J. Baigent, however, I am now able to give the names of nine other monks, three of whom afterwards became abbots. The earliest in date is about 1281, Roger, son of Henry Lord Harleye and Johanna his wife.[1] The name of brother Will. de Eynesham occurs August 25th, 1370. At the election, in 1371, of brother Henry de Inglesham, there were seven monks present, viz.:

[1] Information derived from the following document. "In the year of our Lord 1281 died Henry Lord de Harleye, who had issue by Johanna his consort six sons, all of them monks:—one at Worcester, named John; another at Bello Loco Regis (Beaulieu), near Southampton, named Richard; the third at Hayles, named William; the fourth at Bordesley, named Walter; the fifth at Rufford in Shorewood, named Nicholas; *the sixth at Netteleye upon the sea* (*super mare*), *named Roger;* on whose souls may God have mercy!" The first named was a Benedictine, but all the others Cistercians. It is remarkable (Mr. Baigent says) to find five brothers all belonging to the same order, and no two in the same monastery. He knows of but one other similar instance, which he has noted in his MS. collections illustrative of the

Digitized by Google

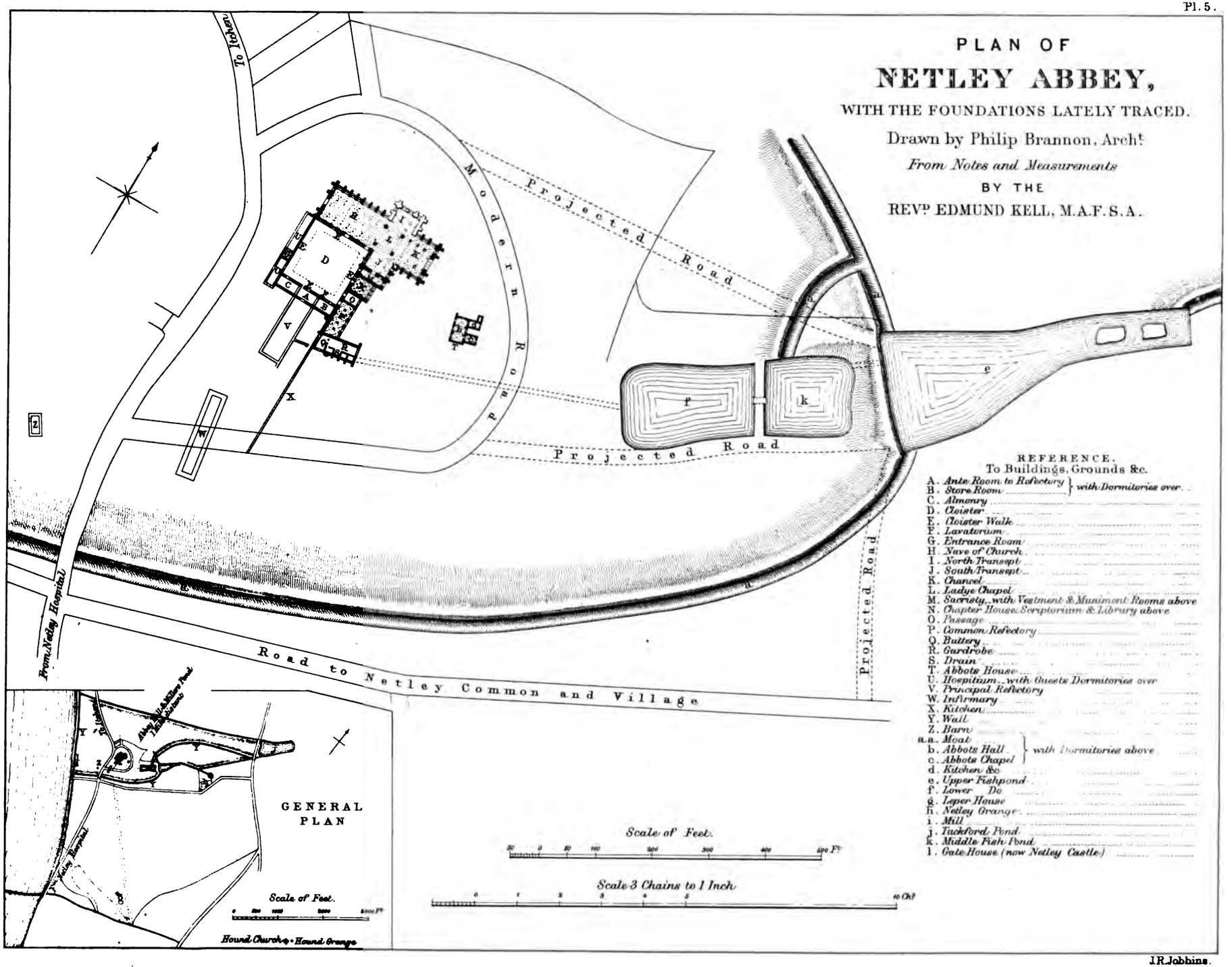
PLAN OF
NETLEY ABBEY,
WITH THE FOUNDATIONS LATELY TRACED.

Drawn by Philip Brannon, Archt

From Notes and Measurements

BY THE

REVp EDMUND KELL, M.A.F.S.A.



REFERENCE.
To Buildings, Grounds &c.

A. *Ante Room to Refectory* } *with Dormitories over*
B. *Store Room* }
C. *Almonry*
D. *Cloister*
E. *Cloister Walk*
F. *Lavatorium*
G. *Entrance Room*
H. *Nave of Church*
I. *North Transept*
J. *South Transept*
K. *Chancel*
L. *Ladye Chapel*
M. *Sacristy, with Vestment & Muniment Rooms above*
N. *Chapter House, Scriptorium & Library above*
O. *Passage*
P. *Common Refectory*
Q. *Buttery*
R. *Gardrobe*
S. *Drain*
T. *Abbots House*
U. *Hospitium, with Guests Dormitories over*
V. *Principal Refectory*
W. *Infirmary*
X. *Kitchen*
Y. *Wall*
Z. *Barn*
a.a. *Moat*
b. *Abbots Hall* } *with Dormitories above*
c. *Abbots Chapel* }
d. *Kitchen &c*
e. *Upper Fishpond*
f. *Lower Do*
g. *Leper House*
h. *Netley Grange*
i. *Mill*
j. *Tuckford Pond*
k. *Middle Fish Pond*
l. *Gate House (now Netley Castle)*

J.R.Jobbins.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Brother John Stanlake, the Prior.
Brother John Stelhard, Cellerer.
Brother John Botteley, Sub-Prior.
Brother Henry de Winton.
Brother Philip Cornhampton.
Brother John Cadewelle.

Mr. Baigent informs me respecting the monks of Netley that:

"William, titular Bp. of Salubrien on Sitientes Saturday, March 19th, 1411-2, ordained in the church of Letlea Abbey 4 Accolythes, 3 Subdeacons, and 4 Priests."

Only eight of the names of the ABBOTS have hitherto been published. By the kindness and researches of the same friend I am able to supply the names of eight more, with a few particulars of their biography, also additional particulars of several of the previously known abbots. The names marked with an asterisk are the additional ones.

Robert was abbot in 1255.

It may be mentioned that in 1288 a complaint of the Abbot of Netley against the Bailiffs of Southampton, concerning *tolls*, was heard at Westminster, when it was decided that no tolls for "food, clothing, or the like," for the necessary use of the abbot and his people should be taken.

Walter was abbot in 1290.

In the year 1294 the Abbot of Netley was summoned to the Parliament at Westminster, and in 1295 to a Convocation at Westminster.

* John, Abbot December 21st, 1348.

* William, Abbot December 30th, 1355.

* John de Cirester resigned his abbacy in 1371.

Henry de Inglesham was elected his successor, but immediately resigned the dignity —that is, refused to accept it on March 2, 1371, but was then re-elected by the monks and confirmed by the Abbot of Beaulieu. He was blest by the Bishop of Winchester March 14, 1371-2, and died in 1374.

John de Stelhard was elected his successor, and became full abbot September 8th, 1374, on whose resignation

Philip de Cornhampton was elected, and became full abbot August 19th, 1387.

John de Gloucester and Richard de Middleton are said to have been abbots after 1396 and about that time.

* Thomas, Abbot of Lettele, occurs in 1452, 1463, and 1468.

English province of the celebrated order of St. Dominic. Brother Thomas Jorse or Jorg, sometime provincial of his order in England and confessor to King Edward I, who had six brothers by the same father and mother, and all of them members of the order of St. Dominic.

Digitized by Google

* John, Abbot of Letteley, in 1470, 1471, 1474, and 1478.

* John Burgess, Abbot of Letely, in August, 1492.

* William Henley, Abbot of Lettele, resigned in November, 1509.

* John Carne, elected his successor, was confirmed November 11th, 1509, and "blest" December 22nd in the same year. He was also abbot in 1523,

Thomas Stevens was the last Abbot of Netley, in 1535, and on the dissolution of the house he and his community joined themselves to the parent house of Beaulieu, of which he was elected abbot on the decease of Abbot John Browning, in September or October, 1536.

One of the difficulties in filling up the list of the Abbots of Netley originates in the abbeys of Beaulieu and Netley being *exempt* abbeys, *i.e.* exempted from the visitation and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Winchester. The Abbots of Beaulieu were confirmed by the Father Abbot of Beaulieu, and not by the Bishop of Winchester; and therefore if the Netley Abbey chartularies are not to be found, the records of the abbots' names must be looked for in the archives of Beaulieu, and not in those of Winchester. It is only when a "blessing" was given by the bishop, or some such incidental event occurred, that mention is made of Netley in the Registers[1] of the Diocese, in the Consistory Courts of Winchester. It is obvious that reckoning the number of abbots by the ordinary periods of occupancy in other monasteries many names are yet missing. It is not improbable that had opportunities allowed when the Archæological Association met at Southampton, in 1855, an investigation would have been made of the site of the abbey for the purpose of ascertaining whether any crypt or vaults could be found containing monumental inscriptions which might have supplied the lacunæ in the list. The late clearance in the débris of the abbey furnished, however, favourable occasion for investigation, and several gentlemen interested in antiquarian pursuits accompanied our associate the Rev. J. A. Addison and myself in a thorough investigation of every part of the site which promised success, more especially of the ground in the vicinity of all the altars. Several writers had conjectured from the stone steps at the entrance of the west aisle of the nave, which appeared to lead underground, that a crypt or vaults would be found there; but on the

[1] W. T. Alchin, Esq., Librarian to the city of London, has in his possession a valuable MS. synoptical index to these Registers, in four volumes, compiled by him when resident at Winchester, which might, with great advantage to the public, be purchased by the ecclesiastical authorities for general reference. He kindly furnished me from his Index with all the references in the Registers to Netley. The Registers themselves consist of a series of bulky manuscript volumes, without any proper clue to their contents. The references to Netley are as follow, and in some of them mention is made of two additional names of abbots above mentioned, viz., to John, 1348, and William.

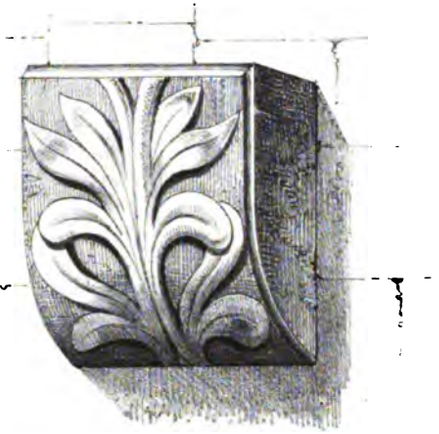
2 Edingdon, folio 19; *Ibid.*, folio 57 b; Wykham, vol. i, folio 38 and folio 55; *Ibid.*, folio 179 and folio 179 b; *Ibid.*, vol. ii, folio 38 b and folio 71.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

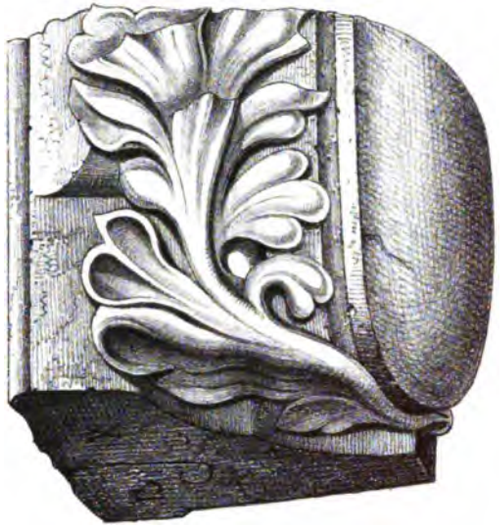
Lotus Corbel, W. side of Cloister.

6



Side View of Shield, part of Altar Tomb.

1



Ornament on Altar Tomb.

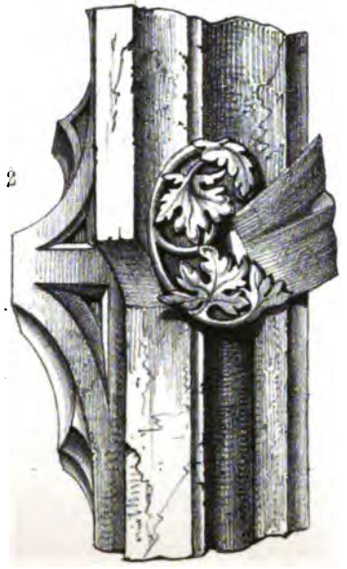
3

Fluted Corbel, in Sacristy.

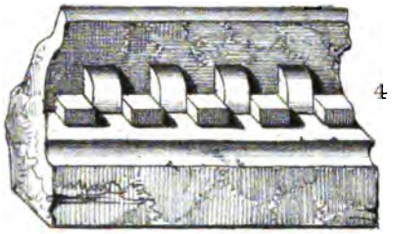
7

Part of Altar Tomb.

2



Part of Altar Tomb.

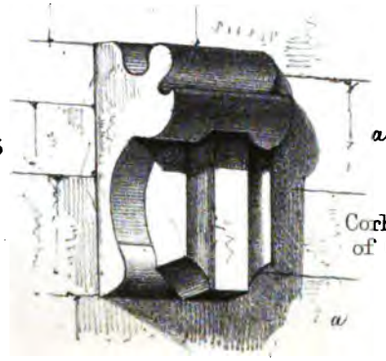


4

8

Corbel, outside of Window, N. Aisle of the Nave.

5



Corbel, W. side of Cloister.

Digitized by Google

excavation of the soil to the solid sand below, it was seen that the steps only conducted to the ancient level of the church floor. It was, therefore, the unanimous opinion of those engaged in this search, that no crypt ever formed part of the abbey. Everywhere the yellowish sand on which the abbey is built soon made its appearance. It may be remarked that crypts to churches were generally discontinued about twelve years before the date of Netley Abbey. The foundations of the church, on the north side, were reached in several places at a depth of only one foot nine inches. At the end of the chancel, towards the north, the foundations were three feet deep and twelve feet thick. In the examination of a large portion of the chapter-house, where the abbots were usually interred, we only met with a few scattered bones, and an empty grave, entirely despoiled of its contents, about four feet below the surface. Relics of what was probably a tomb were discovered between the pillars on the north side of the chancel. It appears to have been ornamented on either side with shields surrounded with foliage very boldly cut and covered over by a sloping roof, in which the foliage of the vine is introduced to form corbels with excellent effect. The shield, still preserved, was probably painted; but the device being effaced from its long exhumation it is difficult to conjecture to what family the tomb belonged. It was probably a work of the fifteenth century. Some may suppose these relics to be part of the screen or enclosure of the choir. Mr. John Smith, of the Ordnance Office, Southampton; has taken drawings of them, and made a conjectural restoration, which, however ingenious, does not admit of our adopting it by an engraving. We, however, have figured on Plate VI some of those interesting examples obtained from the altar-tomb. Fig. 1 presents the shield with surrounding ornamentation in front view. Figs. 2, 3, 4, ornamental portions belonging to the tomb.

Fragments of stone were also exhumed, on which were sculptured a griffin and lion rampant, of which the workmanship was very good, and had probably formed parts of a shield.

In the 15th volume of the *Archæologia* an account is given by Dr. Latham, accompanied by an engraving on an ancient monumental plate, conjectured by him to have been affixed to a tomb at Netley. In this opinion he has been followed by Mr. Bullar, Mr. Guillaume, and others. The plate is stated to have been found at the back of a fireplace in a labourer's cottage in the *New Forest*, and was sold as old metal to a tradesman in Southampton. By him it was given to a friend, through whose instrumentality it has been preserved. The motto, "So have I cause," six times repeated on this plate, belongs to the Compton family, the crest of which is to be found in the east window of Sopley Church, near Ringwood.[1] Mr. F. J. Baigent offers this very probable suggestion, that the plate was taken from Minstead church, in the New Forest, about

[1] See *Archæologia*, vol. xxi, p. 550.

Digitized by Google

eight miles west of Southampton, the church which the Compton family attended, and of which they were lords of the manor. There appears no substantial evidence to connect this plate with Netley.

In the excavations lately made a considerable quantity of encaustic tiles were found, more especially in the chancel, chapter house, and chapels in the south transept. Of these the more rare and interesting have been very accurately drawn by Mr. Skelton and Mr. T. A. Skelton, from which a few have been selected as worthy of being illustrated. See Plate VII.

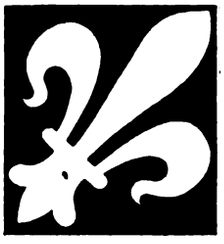
The encaustic tiles employed in the pavements of Netley Abbey present a considerable diversity of patterns, as may be judged by the selection given, which embraces examples of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Among the devices on those belonging to the thirteenth century, we find the lion of England, the fleur-de-lis of France, the eagle of Richard King of the Romans, and the Griffin of the Despensers (see Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4), and of still more interest is the effigy of the mounted warrior, which, from the crown around his flat-topped cylindrical helm, must be intended for a monarch (No. 5). Other devices on tiles of this era are shown in Nos. 6, 7, 8. The tiles of the fourteenth century are more abundant than those of an earlier or later date, and furnish both simple and complex designs, as is well exemplified in Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. Heraldic bearings and badges are exhibited in Nos. 14, 15, 16, in which we see the arms of Clare, great benefactors to the abbey, placed upon the breast of a double-headed eagle; those of the St. John family supported by dogs, and the castles of Eleanor of Castile, consort of King Edward I, with lozenge and quatrefoil ornaments above and beneath them. The fifteenth century produces curious and elegant examples in the narrow tiles, Nos. 17 and 18. The inscribed tiles (No. 19), are mentioned at p. 73.

Specimens of these tiles have been exhibited on various occasions to the Association. Mr. John Smith also has made a drawing of some tiles which he found *in situ* when the rubbish was cleared away around the altar in the chancel. John Bullar, Esq., possesses six specimens of the painted glass of the abbey. One square, representing the Virgin Mary in the presence of the Almighty crowned by angels, has been engraved in Mr. Guillaume's elegant *Views and Details of Netley Abbey.* Another pane represents a monk supplicating that his monastery may be saved from fire. Another, the Crucifixion. Another, the Virgin Mary holding the dead body of Christ. A fifth, the meeting of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth; and the remaining one is of an abbot, robed. In recently examining, with the Rev. J. A. Addison and Mr. John Smith, the débris in the muniment room, which had probably never been disturbed since the abbey became a ruin, various pieces of painted and other glass were found. Mr. J. Smith also found portions of the lattice work and iron bars in a much corroded state. The painted glass discovered

Digitized by Google

1

2

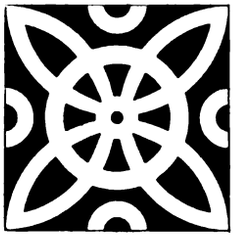


3

4

5

6

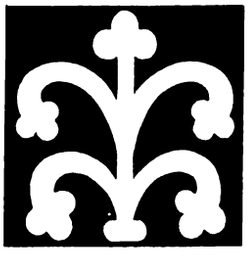


7

8

9

10



11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

Scale ¼ real size.

19

J.R Jobbins.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

belonged to the smaller of the two windows, and consisted of stained purple glass three shades, ornamented with flowing patterns in red, green (two shades), blue, and orange. Two varieties of white glass were likewise discovered, one of which was frosted over, the other was clear. On either were letters shaded red, with a yellow ground and patterns running round. Each letter in height is about an inch and a half, and the pattern is in yellow and blue. At the back of all the coloured glass and much of the plain, a glaze, apparently obtained from lead, had been applied. Of the letters which could be clearly distinguished were AYMES OYA. The OY were in conjunction on the same fragment of glass. There can be little doubt that the letters had formed part of the words "Aymes Loyauté," the motto of the Marquis of Winchester, to whom Netley Abbey was given by Henry VIII, and who probably used this well-barred room for the purposes to which it had been appropriated by the monks. The motto is in Roman letters, and the glass on which the letters are painted is of the Tudor age. Some of the other glass is of the fifteenth century. It is an interesting circumstance, that some of this and other glass found at Netley is of similar quality and colour as various fragments of the glass from the glass factory discovered at Buckholt, Hants, in November 1860, of which an account is given in vol. xvii of the *Journal* of the Association (March 1861, pp. 55-58), and it may probably have been obtained from that place. The larger window in the muniment room had not been furnished with so much coloured glass, its decoration being composed of plain diamond panes, with a border of yellow and blue running round the whole. For the collection of this glass I am much indebted to Mr. John Smith, who has obligingly furnished me with the following account of the colouring of the abbey :—

"On closely examining beneath the comparatively modern plaster on the walls of the abbey, traces of colour can be clearly discerned, forming fresco patterns of various devices; for instance, on the walls of the refectory a band of deep maroon colour, shaded off on either side, in width of about five inches, and situated six feet from the floor, ran round the room; stopping at the windows, the colour is carried up by narrow lines at the sides, whilst at the top, inside the arch, small stripes are delineated, radiating from the centre of the window. In other parts of the building lines of the same colour are so arranged as to give the plaster the appearance of large blocks of stone, the windows being decorated as in the refectory.

"In many instances not only were the capitals and bases of the columns coloured maroon, but the same pigment was introduced behind, so as to throw them out by contrast. This is most conspicuous in the chapel; but owing to discoloration, caused by humidity, great precaution is requisite to discern the original design correctly. In the more ancient portions of the building, indications of colouring are also discernible. In the room immediately over the sacristy more art is displayed in the production of

Digitized by Google

ornament; a series of Vandykes reversed form a band, quaint but not unpleasing, sufficient yet remaining to serve as an illustration (See Plate VIII, fig. 10). The ground colour of this room must have been of a deep cream or buff. In whatever ornament employed on the building, a clearness of design is most conspicuous throughout, from the simplest moulding up to the most elaborated boss."

Engravings of three seals belonging to the abbey have been given in the *Archæologia*.[1] The matrix of one of these is now in the British Museum.

Netley Abbey stands on the yellow sand of the Bracklesham beds, of the Middle Bagshot series. The greater part of the walls are built of Purbeck rubble. Mr. P. Brannon, in his *Guide to the Abbey*, observes that a portion of the building appears to have been executed with the *Tertiary shell limestone*, from Binstead, in the Isle of Wight. This stone was found very near the Cistercian abbey of Quarr, which may account for its use at Netley. Purbeck marble of dark grey was employed for the ornamental shafts and some of the doorways; Caen stone was used for the carvings and dressings.

Netley, said to have been the first abbey broken up by Henry VIII, was bestowed by him, August 3rd, 1536, on Sir W. Paulett, who afterwards became Marquis of Winchester. About the middle of the sixteenth century it formed the seat of the Earl of Hertford, during whose residence it was visited, August 1560, by Queen Elizabeth, in her route to her hunting lodge, now known as Grove Place, four miles from Southampton. It was afterwards occupied by the Earl of Huntingdon, who converted the nave of the church into a kitchen, reserving the chancel for sacred purposes. In the late excavations the stone wall running between the east pillars of the transepts to separate the chancel came to light. Three large fire places built of brick, supported by and faced with Caen stone, were also uncovered in the nave. Upon removing the earth on the outside of the church, about six yards to the north, a very large oven, capable of baking the bread made from two bushels of corn, was found perfect as left by the last occupant. The bottom and the crown of the oven were complete, and the brick work quite firm. The earth had accumulated over it and a large tree grew on the top.

In 1790 the abbey fell into the hands of Sir Bartlett Lucy, who unfortunately sold the materials to Mr. Walter Taylor, a builder, in Southampton, whose unhappy end from an injury received by the falling of a stone on his head when engaged in the work of demolition is well known, and has often been repeated as an admonition to spoliators.

It was at this time that the abbey was unroofed. The ruins then became the property of Mr. Clift, from whom they were purchased by Mr. Dummer. Mr. Dummer left them on the death of his widow (who married a talented artist, Mr. Dance), to

[1] Vol. xiii, pp. 193, 195, and Plate XIII, figs. 1, 2, 3.

Digitized by Google

William Chamberlayne, Esq., formerly M.P. for Southampton. Mr. Dance afterwards took the title of Sir Nathaniel Holland. William Chamberlayne, Esq., became possessor of the property in 1825, and his sister Charlotte in 1829. In 1831 the ruins became the property of their cousin, Thomas Chamberlayne, Esq., of Cranbury Park, at whose cost the late clearances have been effected. The lessee of the surrounding grounds and, until recently, of the abbey ruins, is George Hunt, Esq.

In giving a further detail of the various parts of the abbey, of the laying open of long hidden points of interest and beauty, and of the connection of the abbey with the neighbouring country, I must refer the reader to the plan of its site, and the general plan of its vicinity, which accompany these remarks (See Plate v).[1]

In the description of the ichnography of Netley Abbey I may observe that there is a well-known marked similarity, by the rules of the Cistercian order, in the allocation of the principal parts of the edifice. The cloister—a quadrangular court with apartments opening into it, after the fashion of many Greek and Roman villas, and our own castellated and ancient manorial buildings,—was always placed south of the nave, and west of the transept, sacristy, and chapter house, a position best adapted for security, warmth, and comfort. The exceptions to this rule were such cases as Buildwas and Tintern, where the manifest convenience of a river on the north side, which would receive the drains from the secular buildings, dictated a different arrangement. It is well known that the principal refectory, monk's refectory, or day room, hospitium, abbot's house, &c., are found in the same relative positions.

For the better comprehension of the ground plan of Netley, it would have been desirable in the late alterations for the ancient entrance into the cloister to the now blocked up door on its west side to have been preserved. At the present time the abbey precincts are entered by a Tudor archway, partly recent, at a point which was once the ante-room (A) of the principal refectory (V), the vestiges of which underground alone remain. It is difficult to assign the precise uses of the two apartments south of the cloister on each side of this ante-room, as successive lay occupants have altered them to suit their own purposes. The apartment on its east side is in some monasteries the kitchen, as at Fountains and Rievaulx, where the large fire-places still remain; but as I have recently excavated on the west of the buttery, and have found a more common and more likely place for the kitchen, this apartment may probably be designated a store-room for utensils and other articles used for the two refectories, between which it is

[1] Those interested in minute particulars regarding the abbey, may also be referred to a series of excellent photographs taken by Messrs. Rider and Preston. To these we have frequently recurred in the composition of this paper, and have been also greatly aided by others taken by our associate the Rev. J. A. Addison and the drawings of Mr. John Smith, of the Ordnance Office, Southampton.

Digitized by Google

situated (B). It is 35 feet 7 inches long, by 18 feet 8 inches broad. The south front is partly made up of brick and stone, and has the traces of two modern fire-places, the fire-place to the east having a chimney with a double flue. The *storeroom* had a door, now scarcely perceptible, into the common refectory (P), over which were dormitories. It had also a door and wide window into the cloister, and a door at the south-east corner into a small court, now rendered hardly traceable from the alterations in the wall occasioned by the erection in modern times of a staircase. At the north-east corner is a modern window, and over it slight traces of the ascent to the dormitories.

The apartment to the west of the anteroom of the refectory was probably the almonry (C). It seems to have been partly open, on its west side, to the hospitium guest-house (U), as modern masonry alone separates them (with dormitories above them). Its space is now occupied by a newly-erected porter's lodge, and nothing remains of its ancient arrangements but a doorway into the cloister. Outside the storehouse and almonry, at each end of the present frontage, staircases were erected by the lay occupants, slight vestiges of which are still perceptible on the east side, and were until recently on the west side.

Opposite the present Tudor entrance is another Tudor doorway leading into the cloister (D). Near it is a column of the early English doorway, which it superseded, and an early English window on its west, now blocked up, is also traceable.

On entering the cloister, the beauty of this portion of the abbey cannot fail to strike the eye. The cloister walk (E), which formerly surrounded it, was twelve feet wide—the breadth of the present gravel walk. It was covered in olden times with tiles, some of which (lately selected from the débris) now pave the way from the cloister into the common refectory (P). On the south side of the cloister, commodiously situated, as usual, near the two refectories, is a lavatory (F) twenty-two feet long, surmounted by four rather elegant arches. At the south-east angle of the cloister may be observed, at some distance from the ground, traces of the staircase to the dormitories. Vestiges of a staircase at a similar position are still more perceptible at Beaulieu, where the lower stairs remain protruding into the cloister. Over the weatherings of the cloister walk, on the south side, appear several of the ancient narrow oblong windows which lighted the dormitories of this part of the abbey, intermingled with the openings left by the more recent windows. At the south end of the west side of the cloister is a doorway, now blocked up, which led into the hospitium. The second door on the west side of the cloister opened into the ENTRANCE ROOM, or hall (G) of the cloister, fifteen feet five inches long by thirteen feet two inches in breadth. The traces of its front doorway remain, and on each side of it is a beautiful narrow trefoil-headed perpendicular window. This apartment was a principal entrance into the abbey. The surface outline of the land opposite to it, though greatly altered by modern applications of the ground, betokens that the approach to the

Digitized by Google

abbey was from that quarter, where probably was the ancient gate-house, now so much changed in the modern Netley Castle. The entrance-room is also opposite the PASSAGE (O), which route, with a very slight inclination through a nearly quadrangular court, 172 feet across, conducts to the door of the abbot's house (T). This area has the choir of the church on its north; the south transept, sacristy, chapter-house, and common refectory on its west, the garderobe, etc., on the south, and the abbot's house on the east. It latterly has borne the name of "the garden," and may, perhaps, have formerly been a second cloister. About seven feet nine inches beyond the entrance-room on the west side of the cloister was another door into the hospitium. On the same side is a row of corbels which supported the uprights of the wooden roof of the cloister walk (Plate VI, fig. 5). They are sculptured in different geometrical figures, except one, which represents the lotus (fig. 6). It would appear from a fragment of wall over some weathering that this west wall was as high as that of the other side of the court. On the north side of the cloister the weathering remains, but the corbels, which were of fine stone, have been abstracted for building purposes. On the north side appear eight fine three-light windows, the middle light in each having a trefoil head in the centre light.

The doorway near the centre into the nave of the church (H), is of Tudor origin. The original Early English doorway into the nave is situated where a door is usually found, at the east end of the north walk. This door has lately been cleared of the masonry with which it had been encumbered, and its mouldings stand well out. Of its pillars, which were of Purbeck marble, the capitals and bases alone remain. On the east side of the cloister the corbels are seen against the south transept, which supported the roof of the cloister walk, but their traces only are marked along the sacristy (M), the chapter-house (N), and portion of the common refectory (P), which are the buildings composing the east side of the cloister. Above these traces, in this latter apartment, appear the vestiges of the small narrow windows, now blocked up, of the monks' dormitories.

In the late excavations, the foundations of a fountain were discovered in the centre of the cloister court. The fountain was opened to the depth of six or eight feet, four feet in width. There was a regular stone pavement, and steps, but from the fountain being filled up with débris and surrounded by ash trees of large size, whose roots were embedded in the stones, no full investigation of its origin was made. A slight depression of the ground marks its site. Some mixture of brickwork at the top, which an eye-witness described to me as being hardly worth mentioning, may lead to the supposition that the fountain was of the times of the lay occupants, but the probability is in favour of its original monastic construction. From this fountain the cloister court obtained, in later times, the name of the fountain court.

From the south part of the cloister may be discerned a small doorway in the upper

Digitized by Google

part of the south transept, which gave access to the roof of the apartment over the sacristy.

The church was 211 feet 3 inches long and 57 feet broad. Its breadth at the transepts was 140 feet by 42 feet. It was about 50 feet from the floor to the groining, and 80 feet from the floor to the summit of the gables.[1] The west window, though the tracery has disappeared, retains still much beauty. In the architrave and cusps still attached to it, the stone seems cut but as yesterday. During the recent alterations, in removing a door at the west entrance, the stonework between the upper part of the doorway and window was unfortunately broken through. In each jamb of the west window is a doorway, with a staircase leading to the triforium, with a square-headed trefoil above every step. There is a good specimen of the ornamentation in a well carved head supporting one of the vaulting shafts near this window. On each side of the west window is a smaller window with a mullion and trefoil-headed lights, and a quatrefoil in the head; under them was the doorway of the aisles. The aisles, measuring from the centre of the pillar lately uncovered to the wall, were thirteen feet three inches wide. At the west end, over the window, on the south side, is a small lancet window, which is a fragment of the clerestory. On the right of the entrance of the north aisle are the remains of a stoup of Purbeck marble. On the north side, towards its west end, the lay proprietors

[1] For the sake of the comparison of Netley with other abbeys, we here subjoin the dimensions of the churches of some of the larger abbeys of this order.

		Feet.		Feet.		Feet.		Feet.	
Fountains Abbey	Church	360	long by	83	broad; Transept	180	by	70	
Rievaulx	ditto	343	„	63	„	118	„	47	
Beaulieu	ditto	340	„	70	„	211	„	110	
Byland	ditto	323	„	68	„	130	„	70	
Waverley	ditto	322	„	70	„	168	„	50	
Newenham*	ditto	280	„	—	„	152	„	—	
Jervaulx	ditto	260	„	65	„	114	„	48	
Furness	ditto	238	„	65	„	130	„	55	
Whalley	ditto	237	„	45	„	125	„	22	
							and	64	at the chapels.
Tintern	ditto	228	„	65	„	150	„	32	6 in.
Kirkstall	ditto	225	„	70	„	120	„	58	
Netley	ditto	211	„	57	„	120	„	42	
Roche	ditto	202, 10	„	53	„	98	„	52	
Salley	ditto	185	„	—	„	125	„	—	
Binden	ditto	170	„	58	„	94	„	40	
Boyle	ditto	101, 8	„	—	„	79	„	—	

* Newenham, near Axminster, founded in 1246, was the "third daughter" of Beaulieu. Boyle Abbey is considered by our associate, Mr. Gordon M. Hills, the largest of the Irish Cistercian abbeys. See Mr. Hill's *Boyle Abbey*, p. 11.

Digitized by Google

made a door (now filled up), into some outer offices when they had turned the nave into a kitchen. In the north aisle were eight large three-light windows, the centre light the highest, each light trefoil-headed. Over each side-light was a trefoil obliquely placed; of these windows the second, third, fourth, and fifth are entirely gone. The last three are little injured, and exhibit specimens of the Early English transition. There are some excellent corbels on the exterior of the seventh and eighth windows. In the late clearance of débris the bases of two out of fourteen pillars, in the nave, were brought to light in the south aisle; they consisted of four clustered circular pillars with an intervening angular shaft, the cluster measuring fifteen feet three inches round. In the bay of the fourth window on the north side is a recess for a monument. The four large handsome bases of the massive pillars which supported the tower have been also uncovered. On the base of the pillar to the north-east were inscribed, as before mentioned, the title and the crest of Henry III. The base of the pillar on the south-west shows an incised small cross surmounting a crown (see Plate VIII, fig. 8). The pillar on the south-east has incised on it a flag surmounting a heart (fig. 7). These five clustered pillars consisted of twelve circular pillars with four angular shafts chamfered. They measured altogether twenty-eight feet ten inches in circumference. The tower, like other towers of the Cistercian monasteries, was low. Describing this tower, which has entirely disappeared, Mr. Warner writes:[1] "In the great tower are several of the ribs of arches radiating from what was once the centre of the ceiling. These, stripped of the stones which formerly intervened, form a kind of picturesque skeleton. In this tower are carved in stone several shields charged with armorial bearings. Among these is a pelican vulning his breast, a pheon's head, and a fesse dancette betwixt five pallets, two, two, and one."

The north transept (I) is altogether gone. Part of its materials were taken away by Lady Holland to make an ornamental ruin at Cranbury Park. It site was until lately encumbered with rubbish, which has now been removed, and its boundaries traced and defined. There are vestiges in its foundations of two chapels as in the south transept, but no record of their dedication. There are still traces of painting on a fragment of the wall of its south chapel. It has sometimes been considered, but without any evidence, as the chapel of St. Edward. The south transept (J) has great beauty. It retained its roof until thirty-five years ago, and is consequently in better preservation. The door of the sacristy, which has lately been cleared of the masonry with which it has been blocked, presents a rich moulding. Springing from its west side is the shaft of two blank arches. Over these arches the triforium appears, which at this part is surmounted by two other arches nearly semicircular, and having in the head of each a quatrefoil circular panel. Between these arches and the arch of the groining above is a fine sixfoil panel. The

[1] *Collections for a History of Hants*, vol. i, p. 33.

Digitized by Google

three bosses over it, composed of roses, grapes, and foliage, are much admired. These may have formed corbels for statues, as they have a flat stone on their summit, on which statues may have been placed. In the gable of this transept is a three-light lancet window. Resting on the shafts of the Early English columns are some fluted pieces of vaulting of Perpendicular work, probably constructed to brace the walls or support the tower. At the south-west corner of this transept are indications of a flight of stairs, always found in Cistercian abbeys, which afforded access for the monks from the dormitory and scriptorium during the night services. At Jervaulx, Beaulieu, Kirkstall, and Bindon Abbeys, the flight of stairs remains projecting into the transept,—a line of ascent which, from the vestiges of steps traceable on the south wall of the transept at Netley, does not appear to have been the mode adopted there. There are also traces of a doorway opening under the staircase at the north-west angle of the transept into the cloister. Near this doorway, on the west of the transept, are the relics of a recent window, but whether it succeeded an ancient one is not evident. The opening beyond, from which there are now steps of several feet into the cloister, appears not originally to have been a doorway, but was probably a receptacle for a monument. The stoup near it would be used by those entering the adjoining door from the south aisle.

On the east side of this transept were two chapels, separated from each other by a stone wall. The south chapel had a two-light lancet window. A trefoil headed piscina remains. In this spot were found, in the late excavations, several sets of encaustic tiles marked with the initial letters of the Blessed Virgin Mary, B. V. M. This may be considered to give force to the conjecture that it was the Lady Chapel (L), and it has traditionally been so called. The north chapel has only one simple lancet window. The doorway under it is of Tudor origin. In the groining of each chapel is a beautiful boss. The lay proprietors made in these chapels a second story, and portions of brickwork inserted for the support of the flooring still disfigure the windows. The shafts were partially destroyed for the floor joists. The north chapel may with some plausibility be conjectured to have been dedicated to St. Edward the Confessor. It is stated by Mr. Milner, that among the débris of the south transept to be seen in 1790, were the supposed (or rather the "attributive") arms of Edward the Confessor,—a cross flory, and four martlets, which had been carved on the roof.[1] A boss groining in the chapel is worthy of notice (Pl. VIII, fig. 4).

The east window of the chancel (K) is justly considered the gem of the edifice, though time has robbed it of two of its mullions,—the centre one only remaining,—and also of the two smaller circular windows. The cusps and points of the upper window mark its superior elegance. The mouldings of the arch of the window-bay, supported on shafts of

[1] *History of Winchester*, vol. ii, p. 206 note; and Bullar's *Guide to Netley Abbey*, p. 12.

Digitized by Google

Purbeck marble, are singularly beautiful, and it has been remarked that the width of the mouldings, gradually diminishing from the interior of the church, gives the appearance of a greater perspective depth. Of the shafts, the capitals and bases alone are left. A well-carved block below the window, bearing marks of rough treatment, representing a face and arms uplifted, was probably a credence bracket. The foundations of the altar remain. The aisles of the chancel had three arches, in each of which was a plain two-light window. A single-light lancet window lighted the east end of each aisle, and there was a chapel in each aisle. An almery remains in that on the north aisle. The chapel in the south aisle may be regarded by many as the Lady Chapel. A trefoil-headed double piscina and almery are on its south side. A boss in the groinings of a fragment of this chapel is of peculiar beauty (Pl. VIII, fig. 5). The foundations of the altar in both these chapels remain. The windows in the north aisle of the chancel, from the semicircular arches on the outside, are among the earliest portions of the edifice. In the late excavations the foundations of a stone wall appeared, which divided the chancel from the transepts for purposes of worship in the time of lay occupancy.

There is a spiral stone staircase, lighted by several small oblong windows, at the junction of the wall of the chancel with that of the south transept. It conducted to the triforium through an archway in the side of the south transept, and to the tower. This triforium, which probably went round the greater part of the church, may still be traversed by the adventurous as far as the great west window. On ascending the staircase, the blocks for a wooden roof may be seen along the east side of this transept. A bellcote, nearly concealed by ivy, is on the outside of the south transept gable.

The *Sacristy* (M) is entered by a descent of four steps from the south transept. It is forty-two feet four inches by thirteen feet three inches. It is dimly lighted by a small two-light window on the east side, of which the mouldings are in good preservation. There is a trefoil light over the west doorway. A trefoil headed double piscina and an almery are on the south side. A slight trace of an altar remains. There is a fine fluted corbel on the north-west corner (Pl. VI, fig. 7). Two large recesses, one on the north side nine feet wide, and one on the south ten feet ten inches, were for the reception of the instrumenta, vessels, etc., connected with the services of the church. A doorway at the south-west (vestiges of the threshold of which remain) commanded a view of all the doorways of the apartments of this portion of the abbey. The west room over the sacristy, where, probably, minor records, vestments, etc., might be kept, was lighted by a window from the cloister, of which scarcely any indications are left. Through this room was the passage to the scriptorium. The east apartment was the muniment room, which was separated from the west room over the sacristy by a strong wall, having in its construction an arch springing from the side walls, to supply the lack of support

Digitized by Google

from any dividing wall in the sacristy. The muniment room had a barrel vault, and was lighted by two oblong windows. The window to the east was four feet and a half by two feet and a half, and had been secured by three iron bars down its length, and five across. The south window was two feet long and one foot wide, and had had one bar down the middle and three across. The windows were made to allow of rather wide bay stalls being formed at their base, which, from the encaustic tiles on the floor being much worn, must have been considerably used. The muniment room had a handsome border of vandykes round the walls, about six feet from the ground (Pl. VIII, fig. 10). The ground colour was a deep cream or buff. There was a door from the muniment room into the scriptorium and library, which were situated above the chapter-house, as at Furness Abbey.

The chapter-house is thirty-four feet five inches from west to east, and thirty-two feet nine inches from north to south. It had a groined roof, which sprung from corbels, and was supported by four pillars in the interior. The corbels from which the groinings sprang indicate the elegance of this part of the structure. A fern leaf ornament on the corbel in the second east window is worth notice. The three east windows are simple two-lights, with a sixfoil opening above enclosed within a small pointed arch. A marked improvement has been effected by removing the masonry which, until recently, had blocked up, in this apartment, one of the east windows, and the two west windows and door. The sides of these windows are of Caen stone with capitals, and base of Purbeck marble. The sills of the windows were also of Purbeck marble. The sides of the door were each composed of five clustered pillars of Caen stone, with capitals, bases and shafts of Purbeck marble. The mouldings of the windows and door strike the eye as sharp and beautiful after their long encasement. The windows had been glazed, as fragments of the iron framework were found in the débris underneath them, and I observed on the sills some pieces of lead, specimens of which are in my possession. There are marks of the framework also in the stone of the windows. The chapter-house might be further sheltered by the glazing of the cloister walk, which was often the case after the middle of the thirteenth century, about which time the abbey was built.

The passage (O) is in its usual relative position, serving to connect the cloister with the area before the abbot's house. It is crossed in passing into the common refectory from the door in the south-west corner of the chapter-house. The passage has a plain vaulted roof without groins.

The common refectory (P), or day room, for the use especially of the monks and converts, was seventy-three feet nine inches on its west side, and on its east sixty-nine feet seven inches. Its average width was twenty-five feet. It was, probably, thus slightly thrown out of square to suit the requirements of the garderobe (R), of which the line of direction might partly have been determined by the drain from the fish ponds.

Digitized by Google

That this refectory, which in lay occupation formed two rooms, was originally one room, was lately made more obvious by the removal of the partition wall built against one of the corbels, which then discovered the dog tooth ornament, in all its freshness, that decorates the other corbels in this apartment. The common refectory, like the chapter-house, has lost its roof. A self-sown ash tree which here sends aloft its towering branches adds greatly to its picturesque beauty. Here was a groined roof supported by a row of four pillars in the centre, and by corbels in the sides of the walls, thus admitting two rows of dining tables, like the refectories at Fountains, Jervaulx, and Furness. Doors open on the west side of this refectory into the cloister, the storeroom, and an open court; the latter two doors are now blocked up. There has been a modern fireplace on the east side below, and a modern fireplace with double flue in the apartment above. The original fireplace, though nearly blocked up with masonry, is still indicated on the west wall in the fourth bay of arches from the passage, by the absence on that bay of the preserved band of deep maroon, shaded off on either side, and in width about five inches, which runs level with the corbels in the other parts of the wall, thus shewing that the original ancient plastering was never taken over this part, and that the present plastering on that spot is of a later date. A small portion of the chimney of the ancient fireplace may be discerned through an aperture in the later masonry. About twelve feet from the south end of the west wall a discovery of some interest was made in the removal of the débris, the vestiges of an octagonal stone staircase, four feet in diameter, which led to the monks' dormitories. A broad relieving arch above it, too broad for a doorway, marks this as the place for the staircase. The relieving arch is seen in the court outside. In excavating to the foundations of the staircase, we found the present surface ground of the common refectory to be a foot and a half above the ancient floor. This refectory is lighted from the east by a small oblong window, and two two-light windows having trefoil heads, with a transom crossing the mullion. A window, probably of the same description, is now filled up with brickwork. At the south end on this side is a single lancet window, differing from the others, necessarily, in shape and size, from its vicinity to the door. This door is opposite to the door leading into the courtyard, in which is still traced the descending steps. Perhaps, in the days of the brotherhood a screen was placed across the south end of this refectory, as is not unfrequent in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge at the present day. A door opens at the south side of this refectory into a room twenty-four feet eight inches long and fifteen feet nine inches broad, which was probably the buttery (Q). It had a hatch opening into the refectory, and one also opening into the *garderobe* (R). It appears, from the weatherings which remain on the north side, to have had a low gable roof. The brackets, which may have supported the uprights of the roof, are still seen on the east side. On that side were

Digitized by Google

two doors into the garderobe, one of which is now blocked up, as is also a door on the west side into the kitchen, the foundations of which have been lately discovered. The portion of brickwork in the high walls at the south of the apartment indicated considerable alterations at this part by the lay proprietors.

The garderobe (R) is fifty feet by eighteen feet six inches. On the east side a two-light window, with a quatrefoil in the head, has lately been cleared of encumbering masonry, and also a single-light window over the door on the north side. The single light on the east of the fireplace remains blocked. The fireplace has over it a large hooded flue, and on each side a bracket for a light. The bricks at its back are in herring-bone work. The fireplace is five feet eleven inches within the stone jambs, being about the same size as that in the common refectory. Vestiges of a fireplace of a similar size remain connected with the garderobe of Kirkstall Abbey. From the handsome appearance of the stonework of this fireplace, and from the disappearance above ground of the ancient abbey kitchen, this room has usually been designated the kitchen. It is, however, too small for this purpose. In the remaining kitchens of Fountains, Jervaulx, Rievaulx, Kirkstall, and Whalley, the fireplaces are much larger, some being double and treble this fireplace in extent. At some abbeys, as at Fountains and Kirkstall, are two fireplaces in the same kitchen, and at Jervaulx even three of large dimensions, corresponding to the magnitude of monastic culinary operations. The garderobe at Netley is of a similar size, and is situated in the same relative position south of the common refectory as that of Kirkstall and of Rievaulx. There is a door to the west of the fireplace, close to a door into the common refectory, and a cupboard beyond the door. A large Elizabethan window was introduced into the south side of the garderobe to render this apartment more light, when it was probably converted by the lay proprietors into a servants' hall. Of the groinings of the vaulted ceiling nothing remains; but the battered corbels and stone springers left, show that the roof was divided into four compartments. The apartment above the garderobe was an upper garderobe, as was the case at Fountains and Kirkstall. This vestige of a room is now a complete tangle of shrubs and briars, which have grown up among the débris. Steps of a modern staircase, which may have succeeded an ancient one, appear on the outside of the south wall of the garderobe. Along the interior, on its south side, is a deep open drain (S), coming from the lower fish pond. In the masonry of the sides of this large drain are indications of smaller drains, which once emptied themselves into it. Over the drain, on its east side, two of the latrines yet remain, the ancient windows of which are visible on the outside wall. The drain was continued to a spot now a small ornamental reservoir near the front of Netley Castle, but where formerly it made an exit. Until the last few years men could walk upright through this drain, which was six feet high by five feet broad, and hence the

Digitized by Google

common opinion that it once served as a subterranean passage. Near the above small reservoir, at the distance of about two hundred and sixty feet west of the foundation walls of the infirmary (w), is a building formerly belonging to the abbey, forty feet by twenty-six feet, which has traditionally gone under the designation of the barn (z). About twenty years since, this building was converted into a gardener's lodge, coach houses, etc. An Early English doorway of nine feet high and five feet wide is almost the only vestige of antiquity left. The ancient application of this building is uncertain. A building of somewhat larger dimensions at Beaulieu is considered the place where "the monks manufactured their wine."[1] At that neighbouring abbey vines were grown in the open air, as some fields sloping to the south, still called "the Vineyards," testify; and the vines continued there till comparatively recent date. As the Netley monks came from Beaulieu, and their land was finely sheltered, sloping to the south and west, it is probable that they, like many other brotherhoods, manufactured their own wine, and would require such a building as this, which for the purpose was probably then, as now, situated in the midst of fruitful garden grounds.

The farmhouse called Netley Grange (*h*) lies about two hundred yards east of the upper fish pond (*e*), but retains no traces of antiquity except some ancient foundations. What is called the Grange estate now includes 485 acres, 12 perches, and having belonged to this abbey is exempt from tithes. The abbey close may have included about fifty acres. About ninety feet south-east of the chancel of the church, a site selected, as in other abbeys, as the most convenient for access to the conventual buildings, stood the abbot's house (T). A brick wall, sixteen feet high, built by the lay occupants, extending from the south transept to the north end of the abbot's house, has been removed in the late clearance, to the great advantage of the beauty of the abbey ruins. The abbot's house does not point due-east, but stands in the same linear direction, relative to the church, as the abbot's house at Fountains Abbey. The entrance was by a door on the west side, into a room forty-five feet by seventeen feet one inch, probably the hall (*b*), which has two windows looking west, one a single-light lancet window near the door, the other a two-light window with a mullion and open lights above. It had a wide window both on the north and the south side, but that on the south side is blocked up. The apartment is now paved as a stable, to which use it had been applied in modern times. It has a cupboard on its east side. Opening from this hall is a room twenty-one feet three inches by twelve feet four inches, which appears to have been used as a chapel (*c*). It has a two-light window at its east end. A string course is discernible on the east wall where the altar stood. It has an almery on the north side. The piscina, on the south side, has given place to a

[1] See Warner's *Topographical Remarks Relating to Hampshire*, vol. i, p. 255; *Collections for a History of Hampshire*, vol. i, p. 80.

Digitized by Google

modern chimney. On the north-east, separated from the chapel by a small yard, but communicating with the hall, is a room twenty-one feet three inches by nine feet seven inches, which may have been a kitchen or office (*d*). It was lighted by a narrow oblong window on its north side, and probably on its south also, and it had a fireplace on its east side. This room had a dormitory over it. There is a small room on its north side, and a drain, etc. On the second-floor is a dormitory over the hall, with two almeries. A single lancet window lights it on the north. Westward were two windows, now dilapidated, looking to the garden, and two also were on the south, one of which is a small lancet light. Over the chapel is a smaller dormitory, which had a gable roof, the weatherings of which, in one part, have not crumbled away. The portion of the moulding of its window which yet remains, like other mouldings of the abbot's house, has considerable elegance. The staircase to these apartments is not traceable. It was probably at the angle where the chapel and hall meet. The whole edifice is in a state of great dilapidation, but it is so richly fretted with ivy and bramble that it is an object of great attraction to the lover of the picturesque, especially as viewed from the open road from the north-east.

Being conscious that there must have been important portions of the abbey, the site of which had not been traced, I determined to excavate those spots which by comparison with the local arrangements of other Cistercian abbeys, gave most promise of success, as well as to make an investigation into the connections of the abbey with the surrounding neighbourhood. In this undertaking I had the kind assistance of the Rev. J. A. Addison, for whose valuable aid and information I am greatly obliged.

I will now describe more particularly the old foundations of the abbey which have been thus brought to light. On the west side of the cloister we detected, nearly three feet below the surface, the groundwork of the foundations of a portion of the hospitium (U), extending from the south-west angle of the church to the entrance room (A), of the cloister. The stone of these foundations had been entirely removed, and nothing remained but the concrete. The covered doorway into the church, at the south-west corner, was for the use of the occupants of this part of the hospitium. Along the western side of this portion of the cloister wall are still brackets and vestiges of brackets which supported a floor for dormitories for the lay brethren or guests. The length of this portion of the hospitium, of which we found only the concrete on which the walls were laid, is seventy-nine feet. The wall of the entrance room, and a portion of the wall of the hospitium beyond it, remaining above ground, is sixty-one feet nine inches, making, with ten feet nine inches of wall further south, now removed, the total length of the original wall one hundred and fifty-one feet six inches. The breadth of the hospitium was seventeen feet two inches. From the present appearance of the windows and door at the entrance room the ground has at that part been raised three feet along the west side of the abbey.

Digitized by Google

An examination of the wall on the north side of the hospitium indicated a doorway in its centre of about twelve feet wide. In the southern portion of the hospitium, on its west side, are handsome sills of two windows, one eighteen feet in width, the other eleven feet six inches, commanding a fine prospect of the Southampton water. It had a door into the cloister.

The PRINCIPAL REFECTORY (v), was discovered (by tracing the concrete of its foundations), to have occupied its usual place in Cistercian abbeys, at the south entrance of the cloister. It was a hundred and thirty-one feet long and thirty-three feet wide. The walls were four feet four inches thick. The depth to the concrete (for the stone here had been entirely removed), varied from two to three feet. It was here that the guests, presided over by the abbot, were entertained. We found on the east side the concrete extend eleven feet beyond the south wall, without any corresponding wall on the west side, possibly from some change of plan as to the length of the refectory at the time of erection.

At about a hundred and twenty feet south-west of the principal refectory we also traced, by the concrete, the foundations of an oblong building a hundred and thirty seven feet six inches in length, and about twenty-one feet in breadth, which was in all probability the *infirmary* (w). Its position inclines about twelve degrees west of north. The land at this part having been covered with débris, lately carted from the abbey church, the concrete was often more than three feet below the surface. The infirmary crosses the new road, and extends beyond it about forty feet. A part of the stone foundations are discernible near the hedge on the road side, a vestige which, indeed, first drew my attention to this long forgotten portion of the abbey. I have designated this relic the *infirmary*, from its size and its proximity to the hospitium, a usual locality for the infirmary.[1]

On a line with the south of the buttery, westward, was a large handsome door, five feet nine inches in width, the steps of which remain, forming part of a wall three feet and a half thick, which extends to the principal refectory. This wall, like that of this refectory, can only now be traced underground. We discovered also underground the foundations of a parallel wall twenty-one feet from it, running from the north part of the buttery, which also joined the principal refectory, thus forming a room thirty-five feet by twenty-one feet. From the position of this apartment it was in all probability the *kitchen* (x). It had the drain running close to the south side. A door opened into the buttery at its north-east corner. Situated between the two refectories it would be conveniently placed for serving them. Its position as a kitchen is similar to that at Kirk-

[1] See position of the infirmary in Furness Abbey, *British Archæological Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 309, 371; also in *Fountains Abbey*, by J. R. Wallbran, F.S.A., and the edifice usually considered the infirmary at Kirkstall.

Digitized by Google

stall, where still remain the two fireplaces and two ovens. Its doorways north and south, which we lately uncovered, and a portion of the north wall, have been left exposed to view. The north door, five feet wide, led into an open court, as indicated in it by a large exterior buttress. Some well-carved grotesque heads of gargoyles peer aloft through the ivy at the top of this part of the edifice (Pl. VIII, figs. 1, 2). The third head from the south is also a gargoyle (fig. 3).

A line of stone walling (Y), about two feet two inches wide, extends from the south-west corner of the buttery southward, across the field and road, one hundred and ninety-eight feet. Its termination on the other side the road was carefully examined east and west, to discover whether there was any wall in either direction, but it was evident the wall ended there, forming an enclosure for this portion of the abbey precincts. A mound commences its rise near its termination. This wall may possibly have had dwellings or workshops on its west side for various artificers of the abbey.

One of the causes which led to the early demolition of the buildings, the foundations of which have been thus discovered, *viz.*, the principal refectory, the infirmary, the kitchen, and part of the hospitium, was probably that such outlying buildings would not conveniently allow of a proper frontage, nor would they harmonize with the arrangements suitable to a nobleman's residence, for which purpose the abbey was to be appropriated. The proximity of their materials to Netley Castle or Fort, which was, in part at least, constructed out of their spoil by Henry VIII, made them a tempting prize. Several of the neighbouring farm-houses, also, bear marks in their construction of appropriations from the abbey. It is somewhat remarkable that the principal refectory, which at Netley has so utterly disappeared, is in the neighbouring abbey of Beaulieu in complete preservation, and is occupied as the parish church; the fine old stone pulpit,[1] formerly used during meals, being now employed in its regular Sabbath services, while the *church*, which at Netley (the daughter) is the more beautiful part of the ruins, has at Beaulieu entirely disappeared.

The abbey must have been well supplied with fish from three fish-ponds, connected with each other. The lower pond (*f*) was within two hundred feet of the abbot's house. This pond and the middle pond (*k*), which is somewhat smaller, covered together two acres, one rood, nine perches. They formed an oblong, separated by a bank twelve feet broad, and connected by a floodgate. The upper pond (*e*) was separated by a similar bank from the middle one, and had also communication, by a floodgate, with the pond below. It was of a triangular form, and had two small islets at its east end. It covered one acre, twenty-five perches. At present the lower ponds are overgrown with small shrubs and rushes. The upper pond is a fine sheet of water, skirted, till lately, with

[1] See drawing in *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxvi, part i, p. 288.

Digitized by Google

Gurgoyle over W. side of Buttery.

1

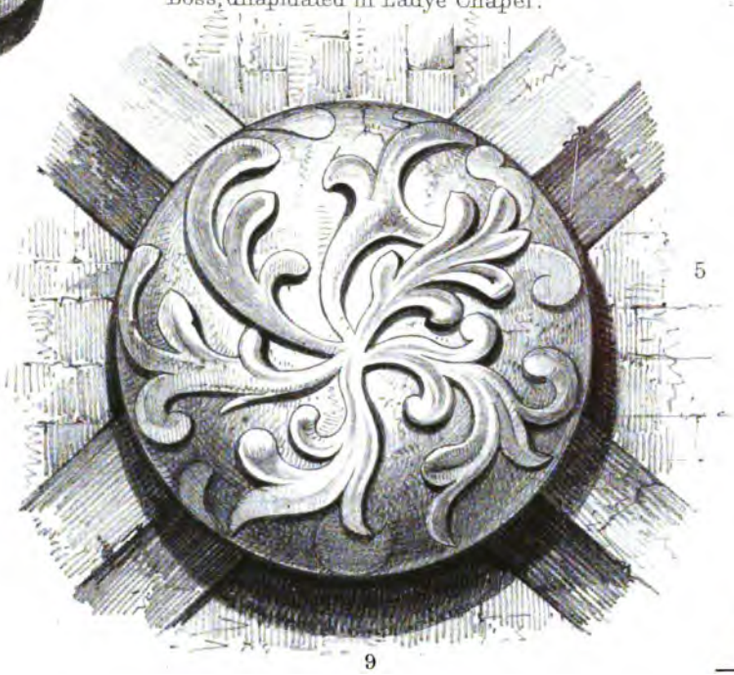
Boss Groining of St Edwards Chapel.
Partially restored.

4

Middle Gurgoyle over Buttery.

2

Boss, dilapidated in Ladye Chapel.



5

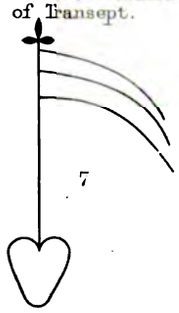
Near Junction of S. Transept, with Nave.

6

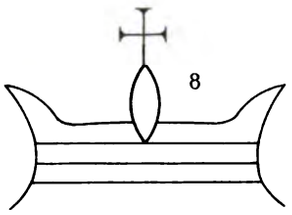
Gurgoyle S.W. of the Buttery.

3

Flag above a Heart on Base of S.W. Pillar of Transept.



7

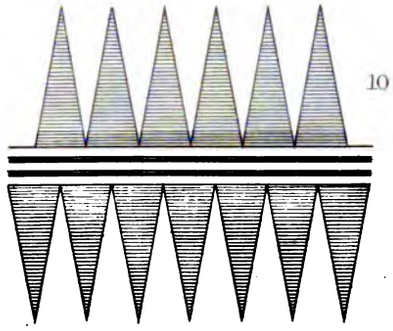


8

Cross over Crown, N.W. Pillar of Transept.

9

Ornamentation E. Window.



10

Note. *The Vandykes are Dark Red.*

Ju° Smith, del.

J.R. Jobbins

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

luxuriant trees. When we consider the skill in the culture of the vine which had been attained by the monks, various of whose vineyards are *still to* be traced in the southern monasteries, as Beaulieu, Canterbury, Basingstoke, Totness, etc.; and when we call to mind the extent of their agricultural science in the culture of corn, evidenced, among other circumstances, from the marl pits which remain around their granges,[1] a kind of knowledge which in after times was long neglected, we shall not be surprised that the monks had adopted the most approved mode of raising fish at Netley by the use of three ponds; the first for spawning, the second for nursing, and the third (for convenience nearest the abbey) for the *main* pond for immediate supply. We may observe the same arrangement of three ponds in various monasteries, as in the plan of Buildwas Abbey grounds, given by our Associate Gordon M. Hills, Esq.[2] A similar *principle* is observable at Bindon Abbey, where the fish ponds are formed by trenches or canals cut round a square piece of ground. Here there are five ponds of different dimensions, the additional ponds apparently employed for greater nicety in the assortment of the sizes of the fish, as they were removed from one pond to another.[3] The treatise on "*Fyshyng with an Angle*,"[4] attributed to Dame Juliana Berners, prioress of Sopewell, which is still one of the best standard works on that subject, shews the great attention paid in the monastic bodies to piscatory pursuits, not only for subsistence but also for amusement.

It should be noticed that excellent provisions were made for supplying separately these ponds with water by dykes from a reservoir of more than eight acres(?), nearly half a mile to the east, called Tuckford Pond *(j)*. The dykes were cut from the south-east angle of this sheet of water, one dyke supplying the upper pond and the other dyke the middle pond, which crossed in its more winding course the moat from the south side of the upper pond. The lower pond opened into the drain which passed through the garderobe, buttery, etc. Tuckford Pond, though now overgrown with withies, etc., is remembered by Mr. William Miles, of Miller's Pond, as a sheet of water forty years ago, when it burst its banks (nine or ten feet high), which were never afterwards repaired. This pond would serve also for a supply of fish to the monastery. About one hundred and fifty feet from the lower part of the pond, on its north-west, is a circular stone pillar about four feet six inches in girth and four feet high; and about three hundred feet beyond it is another circular pillar, now broken into three pieces, making five feet five inches in height, with a hole in its summit, possibly to sustain a cross. The cross might have been

[1] See West's *Antiquities of Furness*, p. 14.

[2] *Collectanea Archæologica*, vol. i, Plate VI.

[3] A plan of five successive fishponds is recommended by Mr. Weston in the *Repertory of Arts*, vol. xviii, for 1803.

[4] See a reprint of this treatise lately by Pickering, taken from the *Boke of St. Albans*, edition of 1496.

Digitized by Google

the object for which both pillars were erected. The ground at their bases was apparently much worn.

As a further proof of the well considered engineering plans of the fraternity, there was a contrivance for supplying Tuckford Pond from the adjacent high grounds of Netley Common, where water was collected in trenches—still extant—made tributary to a streamlet flowing into this pond. The Netley Grange Pond also poured its surplus into the upper fish pond.

All the arrangements for the supply, protection, and privacy of the abbey were admirable, and impress the mind with the amount of thought and mechanical skill employed in turning the capabilities of the site to the best account. The abbey precincts were defended on the south by a moat twelve feet deep, and at its opening about thirty feet broad *(a)*. The internal mound was nine feet. This moat, at its west end, joined a moat cut on the side of the Southampton Water, and which, with its inner mound, defended the west side of the abbey grounds. The south moat took a circular course till it reached the lower end of the upper fish pond, and on its opposite side pursued a northerly and afterwards a westerly direction till it reached the high ground north of the church, where it terminated. There are no traces left of stone walls to strengthen these entrenchments.

In completing our survey of these arrangements for the protection of Netley it should be added, that the moat and mound which skirt the Southampton Water for half a mile, forming so excellent a defence on the sea side, terminate at the south by a steep cliff, and on the north are continued to the streamlet from Tuckford, which flows into it. A mound from this point, part of it being a natural rampart extending to the Tuckford Pond, formed, on the north side of the abbey precincts, the inclosure for the privacy and protection for its inhabitants. Part of the south moat now forms the carriage drive to Netley Castle, the seat of Major Wilbraham.

Netley Castle was probably the ancient abbey "gate-house," or, at all events, the watergate-house *(l)*. It is situated in a similar direction, westward of the abbey, and at about the same distance as many other gate-houses, viz., Fountains, Beaulieu, Kirkstall, and Biland. The gate-house was located near, and between two Hards on the sea shore; the northern Hard, about four hundred yards distant from it, has near it on the north a circular stone pillar, five feet in girth, which has the appearance of being the ancient pillar to which vessels were secured. The ascent from the gate-house to the abbey is easy and natural, and was till of late years the usual access from Southampton. The gate-house has undergone such continued mutilations, first, in the additions made to it on its transformation into a fort by Henry VIII, who would find its contiguity to the water very suitable for that purpose, and afterwards in its conversion into a private

Digitized by Google

gentleman's residence, that it could hardly be anticipated it should retain much vestige of its original form; but there may still be observed in a cellar in the interior of the castle two stone walls opposite each other, in which are slight traces of two blocked up doors, responding to each other, which may corroborate arguments derived from other sources in favour of the abbey gate-house having once occupied this spot. The gate-houses of abbeys have in various instances become gentlemen's residences. The gate-house of Beaulieu is a seat of the Duke of Buccleugh, called "Palace House." That of Kirkstead is the residence of Mr. Beecroft, M.P. In both these edifices there is comparatively little external trace of the original building.

Two buildings connected with the abbey outside its precincts deserve notice. About half a mile south-east of the abbey is an edifice sixty feet by twenty-eight, now called "Netley Lodge," the residence of John Hepburn, Esq., which there is some reason to believe was the leper or fever house of the monastery *(g)*. Its only remains of antiquity are a stone porch in its front, and stone cellar; but there is a peculiar privilege enjoyed by this house in the very ancient church at Hound, which points to the conjecture that it was the leper house. Hound Church, about nine furlongs east from the abbey, is of the same date as the abbey, and is situated close to Hound Grange, which was connected with the monastery. In the original structure of this church is an oblong chamber, *built out on the north wall* of the church, fourteen feet by five feet, forming a completely separate pew. In the thick wall of the church is constructed a hagioscope, through which the occupants of that pew might see the altar without being themselves seen. This secluded pew has always, I am informed by the Rev. J. A. Addison, the vicar, been the property of the proprietors of Netley Lodge. The ancient church of Hound, as an interesting specimen of the Early English style, with its venerable yew, will well repay a visit from the lover of ecclesiastical architecture. When the walls are damp, the traces of ancient paintings appear.

The other building referred to is what we conceive to be the ancient abbey water-mill *(i)*. This mill, which thirty years ago was in operation, and had then a small farm attached to its occupation, was converted into a private residence called Woodside Cottage, by William Chamberlayne, Esq., and was afterwards for some years occupied by our associate, Robert Jennings, Esq. It is nine furlongs north of the abbey, and about four hundred yards south of Miller's pond, which supplied the fall of water for the mill, the stream afterwards finding its way into the Southampton Water.

On a part of the mound at the south of the abbey, during the occupation of the lay proprietors, a sort of "look out" or summer residence was erected for the sake of its commanding prospect. Nothing now remains of it but a few bricks and stones, and three small terraces, about three hundred feet long, rising one above another, after the

Digitized by Google

fashion of the Elizabethan times. It is the more desirable to record the former occupation of this mound, as this spot, richly clustered with trees, which, by increasing the seclusion of the abbey add so greatly to its beauty, is now offered on building leases by the lessee of the property, and in a short time will probably fall a sacrifice to the spirit of Mammon, greatly marring the innocent enjoyment of the multitudes who every year visit Netley's "time honoured pile," and affording another lamentable instance of the manner in which public interests are disregarded when they come into competition with private gain, and of the need for the establishment by the legislature of a public officer to protect the nation's rightful claims in such localities, and to stay the vandalism which would despoil of their beauty and interest scenes long consecrated to religion, to history, and to art. In the touching strains of Carrington we may add :—

"O ye who dwell
Around yon ruins, guard the precious charge
From hands profane! O save the precious pile
O'er which the wing of centuries has flown
Darkly and silently, deep shadowing all
Its pristine honours—from the ruthless grasp
Of future violation."

Carta Regis Henrici tertii Donatorum Concessiones recitans et confirmans.

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, etc. salutem. Sciatis nos pro salute animæ nostræ, et animarum antecessorum et successorum nostrorum, concessisse, et hac carta nostra confirmasse Deo et ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de loco sancti Edwardi, quam nos fundavimus in Suthamptescir, et abbati et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris, ipsum locum in quo abbatia eorum sita est, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et cum omnibus terris subscriptis, videlicit de Lettelege, de Hune, de Welewe, de Totinton, de Gumelculne, de Nordleg, de Deverell-Kingston, de Waddon, de Ayheleg, de Lacton, cum omnibus pertinentiis earum, et cum redditibus de Cherleton, de Suthampton, et de Suthwerk cum pertinentiis et c. acras terræ in manerio de Schire cum advocatione ecclesiæ ejusdem manerii. Concessimus eciam eisdem monachis, et confirmavimus omnes rationabiles donationes terrarum, hominum, et elemosinarum eis vel in præsenti à nobis collatas vel in futuro à regibus vel ex aliorum liberalitate conferendas, tam in ecclesiis quam in rebus et possessionibus mundanis, sicut cartæ donatorum quas inde habent rationabiliter testantur. Quare volumus, etc. Datum per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium, septimo die Martii, anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto.

Digitized by Google

AN INVENTORY OF THE FURNITURE, ETC., OF A TAVERN AT STRATFORD-ON-AVON, TAKEN IN THE TIME OF SHAKESPEARE.

EDITED BY

J. O. HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.

AMIDST the numerous ancient inventories which have passed under my notice, the present is the first one of any importance which has presented itself which gives an account of the contents of one of the larger kinds of taverns in the days of Shakespeare. There immediately occur to our recollection, the Garter Inn at Windsor, and the Boar's Head at Eastcheap, for although the historic periods of the scenes laid at both are strictly belonging to the fifteenth century, it is well known that Shakespeare was delineating, in both instances, the characteristics of his own time. A consideration of the subject might involve, of course, an inquiry into the domestic economy of our ancient English inns, the materials for which are ample. Such an inquiry, properly conducted, would in itself require a large volume, the result of many years research.

What is now before us illustrates in itself, and to any intelligent reader, the plays of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Henry the Fourth*. I will content myself with making a few brief observations on the two celebrated taverns immortalised by those dramas. The Garter Inn of the former play was no mere creation of the poet. It had no doubt been often visited by Shakespeare when he was at Windsor at the times he was engaged to act before the Court. I can tell you its very site. The present Star and Garter Inn at Windsor stands on the very spot. This is no mere conjecture. It is fully proved by undeniable evidence, and the discovery was made by J. E. Davis, Esq., the distinguished counsel.

And, of course, Shakespeare mentions the Boar's Head, and has immortalised it! I never yet met with a Shakespearian reader who had not the most distinct idea that the great poet knew the Boar's Head as well as he did New Place, and that there it was that he laid his tavern scenes of *Henry the Fourth*. It is a singular delusion. There is no distinct authority, in any one of the early editions of Shakespeare, for the name of the tavern in Eastcheap at which the Prince and Falstaff are supposed to meet.

Digitized by Google

Theobald was the first, in 1733, to place the name of the Boar's Head Inn in the stage-direction. *Shakespeare never mentions that tavern at all,* and the only possible allusion to it is in the Second Part of *Henry the Fourth,* where the Prince asks, speaking of Falstaff, "Doth the old boar feed in the old frank?" A suggestion of the locality may also be possibly intended in *Richard the Second,* where the Prince is mentioned as frequenting "taverns that stand in narrow lanes." In the play of the *Famous Victories,* the Castle Tavern is the inn which is mentioned as the place of meeting in Eastcheap. On the whole, I should be disposed to think that Shakespeare had not the Boar's Head or any particular tavern in view. If he had had, the fact would probably have been as palpable as is the distinct picture of the Garter at Windsor.

The following inventory evidently refers to the largest inn at Stratford in Shakespeare's time; I suspect to the Bear, at the Bridge-Foot; but of this I am not quite sure. At all events, it gives us a most curious insight into the contents of a large provincial tavern of the period, such as probably was the Garter Inn, and in which, in all human probability, Shakespeare was many a time and oft a guest.

1602.—*An Inventorye of the goodes and cattells of Thomas Dixon alias Waterman, late of Stratford uppon Avon, in the countye of Warwyk, Innholder, deceased, taken and praysed the first daie of Marche in the xlv^th^ yeere of the raigne of our soveraigne ladye Elizabethe, the queenes majestie that now ys, by Thomas Stanton, of Longebridge, gentleman, and Henrye Willson, chieff alderman of Stratford aforesaid, Mr. Thomas Barbor, Mr. Jhon Gybbs, Mr. Thomas Rogers, Mr. William Parsons, and Mr. Abraham Sturley, of the same, as followeth.*

In the hall.

Imprimis one joyned cubbord	xiii.*s* iiij.*d*
Item, one longe table boord and frame	x.*s*
One short table boord and frame	vj.*s* viiij.*d*
One longe playne fourme	xij.*d*
Twoe chayres	iiij.*s*
Tenne yardes of waynscote	x.*s*
Twoe portalls of waynscote, containing vij. yardes, with hookes and hinges to the same	vij.*s*
Benches with frames of turned pillars	v.*s*
A whetstone with a chayne	ij.*d*
Two stooles	
Glasse x. foote	iij.*s* iiij.*d*

Digitized by Google

In the butterye, in the hall.

Shelves xv	iij.*s*
One coffer	xij.*d*
Glasse vj. foote	ij.*s*

In Dickensons chamber.

One joyned bedsteed	xiij.*s* iiij.*d*
One other joyned bedsteed, with valence and frynge, redd and greene	x.*s*
One portall of waynscote	iij*s*. iiij.*d*
A lyttle desked joyned table and frame	ij.*s* vj.*d*
One lyttle carpett	vj.*d*
One chayre	vj.*d*
Waynscote ij. yardes	ij.*s*
Glasse in the windowes xij. foote	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
One fether bedd	xx.*s*
Three fether bolsters	viij.*s*
One fether pillowe	ii.*s*
A waled matteryce	iiij.*s*
One wollen blanquett	ij.*s*
One other blanquet lyned with lambe furr	v.*s*
One arras coverledd	ij.*s* vj.*d*
One other coverledd of Turkye worke	ij.*s* vj.*d*
Three curtaynes of redd and yellowe say	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
Three redd curtaines	xij.*d*
One other fether bedd	xiij.*s* iiij.*d*
Twoe fether bolsters	vj.*s*
One longe pillowe	ij.*s*
One waled matterice	vj.*s* viij.*d*
One coverledd redd thrummed	ij.*s*
One old Dornixe carpett	xij.*d*
One coverledd of tapestrye	vj.*s* viij.*d*
Glasse at the staire head	xij.*d*

In the Lyon Chamber.

One bedsteed	xiij.*s* iiij.*d*
One fether bedd	xxvj.*s* viiij.*d*
One other fether bedd	xx.*s*
One waled matteryce	v.*s*

Digitized by Google

Twoe blanquettes	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
Three fether bolsters	x.*s*
One coverledd of Turkye worke	vj.*s* viij.*d*
Three curtaines of surge, redd and greene	vj.*s*
Curtayne roddes	viij.*d*
The matt and cord	xij.*d*
One trundle bedd, matt and cord	iij.*s* iv.*d*
One fether bedd	x.*s*
One fether bolster	iiij.*s*
One blanquett	xx.*d*
One olde coverledd of Darnix	iij.*s*
One coverledd of Turkye, olde	iij.*s*
One square table with the frame	v.*s*
One portall with haspes and hynges	v.*s*
Three yardes of waynscote	iij.*s*
Glasse, xij. foote	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
Twoe chayres	xx.*d*
Bed staves, vj	ij.*d*
O[ne] paire of bellowes	x.*d*
One fyer shovell	vj.*d*
Joyned stooles, xij	x.*s*

In the Cock chamber.

One table boord and frame	vj.*s* viij.*d*
One carpett of Darnix	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
One cubbord table	v.*s*
Joyned stooles xiiij	xij.*s*
Twoe chaires	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
One portall haspe and hynges	iij*s*. iiij.*d*
Glasse, xij. foote	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
Waynscote, ix. yardes	ix.*s*
Cusshions of Turkie work, v.	vij.*s* vj.*d*
Tapestrye cushions, vj	x.*s*
Cushions of Turkye work thrummed	vij.*s*
Wollen list cushions, iiij	ij*s*. viij.*d*
Olde velvett cushions, v	xij.*s* vj.*d*
Olde satten cushions, v	iij.*s* iiij.*d*

Digitized by Google

One close stoole	viij.*d*
One buckrom windowe curtaine and rodd	xvj.*d*

In the Talbott chamber.

One square table and frame	vj.*s* viij.*d*
One new carpett of Dornyx	v.*s*
One bedsteede	xiij*s*. iiij.*d*
The vallence and frynge of curtaines of say	xxx.*s*
Matt and cord	xvj.*d*
One coverledd of arras	xxvj.*s* viij.*d*
One fether bedd	xl.*s*
Twoe blanquettes	viij.*s*
One other fether bedd	xl.*s*
One waled matteryce	v.*s*
Twoe fether bolsters	x.*s*
The curtaine roddes	xij.*d*
Waynscott, ix yardes	ix.*s*
The portall (lockes) haspes and hynges	v.*s*
One lyttle rounde table	ij.*s*
Two chaires	ij.*s*
Nyne joyned stooles	ix.*s*
Glasse, xij. foote	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
One window curtaine and rodd	xvj.*d*
One matt	*ob.*
One trundle bed, matt and cord	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
One fether bedd	xxvj.*s* viij.*d*
One fether bolster	iij*s*. iiij.*d*
One blanquett	xviij.*d*
One olde coverledd	iiij.*s*
One other coverledd	ij.*s* viij.*d*
Two andyornes	xvj.*d*
One fire shovell	xvj.*d*
A paire of bellowes	x.*d*

In the greate upper chamber beneathe.

Three mattrices	v.*s*
Foure bedsteedes boorded	v.*s*
Twoe flock bolsters	ij.*s*

Digitized by Google

Twyllye canvasses	xx.*s*
One coverledd of woven stuff	x.*s*
One old Dornix coverledd lyned	vj*s*.
One olde coverledd	ij.*s* vj.*d*
One olde tapestrye coverledd lyned	ij.*s*
One olde quilte	xxij.*d*
Twoe table boordes and trestles	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
A rattes trapp	iiij.*d*
One thrummed blanquett	xviij.*d*
One other blanquett	xviij.*d*
Twoe mattes	xviij.*d*
One coffer	vj.*d*
Yarne, v. slipps	iij.*s* iiij.*d*

In the maides chamber.

One boorded bedsteed	xij.*d*
One flock bedd	v.*s*
Twoe blanquettes	ij.*s*
One quyllt	ij.*s* viiij.*d*
One twylle	v.*s*
One other borded bedsteed	xij.*d*
One flock bed and bolster	xiij.*s*
Twoe blanquettes	ij.*s*
One red saye	ij.*s*
One other old coverledd	ij.*s*
Three shelves	xij.*d*
Paynted clothes	ij.*s*
A saye at the bedshead	ij.*d*
A paddle staff	viij.*d*
A coffer	viij.*d*

In the Kytchen.

Fyve greatt brasse pottes	l.*s*
Foure small brasse pottes	xvj.*s*
Twoe poscenettes	vj.*s* viij.*d*
Foure skillettes	iiij.*s*
One chafferne	ij.*s* vj.*d*
Foure kettles	viij.*d*

Digitized by Google

Foure chaffinge dishes	iij*s.* iiij*d*
Twoe skymmers and a bastinge spoone	
Twoe gryddyrons	
Twoe cleavers and choppinge knyves	
Foure drippinge pannes	
Twoe fryinge pannes	
Eighte spyttes	
One paire of iron rackes	
Three paire of pot hookes	
One brand yron	
One peare of cobbardes	
One barre of iron and iij. pott lyn[ckes]	
One small peare of andyrons	
One peare of tonges	viij*d*
One fyer shovell	vj*d*
One fyer fork	iij*d*
One iron barre	xv*d*
Twoe greate tryne platters	xx*d*
Fyve shelves and a dressinge boorde	v*s*

In the lower parlor.

One joyned bedsteed, matt and cord	xvj*s* viij*d*
One olde coverledd of Dornyx	iiij*s*
One other coverledd of Dornyx	vj*s*
One doble blanquett	iij*s* viij*d*
One waled matteryce	v*s*
One fether bolster	iij*s*
One flock bolster	xviij*d*
One fether bedd	xvj*s*
One coverledd of arras	iiij*d*
One trundle bed corded	xvj*d*
One other bedsteed	x*s*
One dornix coverledd	v*s*
One quylt	ij*s* vj*d*
Twoe blanquettes	vij*s*
Twoe fether bolsters	x*s*
One fether bedd	xxiij*s*

Digitized by Google

One flock bed	vj.*s*
One flock bolster	xv.*d*
Flexen sheetts and the best hempe, five and therty paiers	xj.*li* xiij.*s* iiij.*d*
A christeninge sheete and a face clothe	xx.*s*
Hempe sheetes of the second sort, xxxij peare	viij.*li*
Foure longe flaxen table clothes	xxj.*s* iiij.*d*
Sixe short flaxen table clothes	xvj.*s*
Fifteine hempen square table clothes	xv.*s*
Seaven hande wypers	xvj.*d*
Twentye and foure pillow byers	xxij.*s*
Seaven dozen of the fyner sort of napkins	xlij.*s*
Three dozen and twoe courser napkins	xviij.*s*
A lyttle dyaper table clothe	xij.*d*
One and twentye longe hempen table clothes	lij.*s* vj.*d*
Fourtye and nyne hempen towells	iij.*li* xiij.*s* vj.*d*
One dozen of napkyns more	vj.*s*
A table boord and joyned frame	vj.*s* viij.*d*
Tenne shirtes	xxxiij.*s* iiij.*d*
A fourme	xvj.*d*
A benche	vj.*d*
A carpett	xviij.*d*
Ruffe bandes, xiij	xix.*s* vj.*d*
A greene jerkyn	xx.*s*
A coate of medley clothe	xvj.*s*
A tufte taffita cloke	xxx.*s*
An olde frise coate	xij.*d*
A peare of breeches and dublett of fustian, and a peare of stockinges	xv.*s*
A Spanishe lether jerkin	ij.*s* vj.*d*
A course dublett and breeches	xx.*d*
A cloke Frenche tawney	xx.*s*
A sheepes cull' gowne furred with fox	xxiij.*s* iiij.*d*
A gowne of browne blew, lyned with lambe and faced with foynes	v*li.*
His hatt and capp	iiij.*s*
His purse and girdle	xx.*d*
His sword, buckler and skeyne	vj.*s* viij.*d*
One pistole	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
His night capp	vj.*d*

Digitized by Google

Twoe peare of bootes and his shues	v.*s*
One joyned bedsteed, matt and cord	vj.*s* viij.*d*
One fether bed	xx.*s*
Twoe fether bolsters	v.*s*
One pillowe	xx.*d*
One quylte	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
One coverled of dornix	xx.*d*
One other bedsteed boorded	ij.*s*
One old flock bed	vj.*s*
A bolster	xvj.*d*
A pillowe	viij.*d*
A doble twyllye	vj.*s*
A coverled lyned	iij.*s*
One other bedsteed boorded	xij.*d*
One fether bed	xiij.*s* iiij.*d*
Twoe flock bolsters	ij.*s* vj.*d*
One wolbed	vj.*s* viiij.*d*
One coverled lyned	xvj.*d*
A table boord and trestles	xij.*d*
Pillowes, xiiij	xxvj.*s* viij.*d*
Paynted clothes	ij.*s* vj.*d*
A baskett of yarne	ij.*s*
A wycker chaire	ij.*s* vj.*d*
Pewter, ij° q^{r} waight at vij.*d* the pound	vij.*li* vij.*s*
Chamber pottes, viij	v.*s* iiij.*d*
Flower pottes, v	xv.*d*
Fowre pottle wyne pottes	viij.*s*
Twenty and one quart potts	xxj.*s*
Eleven pynt pottes	v.*s* vj.*d*
Twoe halfe pynt pottes	viij.*d*
Twoe quarter wyne pottes	vj.*d*
One ale quart pott	xvj.*d*
A tundishe	xij.*d*
Twoe greate Latten candlestickes	xvj.s
Twoe smaller candlestickes	iiij.*s*
Eight small candlestickes	viij.*s*
Three latten basons	vj.*s* viij.*d*

Digitized by Google

A ladle and a bastinge spoone	xvj.*d*
One iron bound truncke	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
One iron bound chest	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
Twoe coffers	vj.*s* viij.*d*
Painted clothes there	x.*s*

In the leaneto or spence.

One save, twoe sheppikes, and other od thinges there	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
One coverled	ij.*s*
One twyllye	v.*s*
One fether bed	xvj.*s*
One fether bolster	x.*d*
Twoe flock bolsters	xx.*d*
A wolbed	iij.*s*
One blanquett	xij.*d*
A boorded bedsteed	xij.*d*
Paynted clothes there	xij.*d*

In the brewhowse.

Imprimis two brewinge leades with their covers	xl.*s*
Twoe great kettles and one asshe kettle	xxiij.*s* iiij.*d*
A fyer forke	iiij.*d*
A meshinge vate	x.*s*
Fyve barrells	ij.*s*
Three lynnen wheeles and a reele	ij.*s*
Other od utensills	iiij.*d*

In the yeelinge house.

Three cooling leades in frame	xx.*s*
Fyve brasse pannes	xxx.*s*
Twoe yeelinge vates	viij.*s*
Twoe heare syves	vj.*d*
Fowre loomes	v.*s*
Twoe kyvers, a powdringe tubb, and a tryne platter	ij.*s* viij.*d*
Three gallon pailes and a tun-dishe	xij.*d*
Twoe kneadinge troughes with olde planckes and boordes	iij.*s* vj.*d*
A mustard querne	xij.*d*
Yarne and reele	ij.*s* vj.*d*

Digitized by Google

Bottle and cyvebole	j.*d*
Twoe hogsheades and one barrell	iij.*s* iiij.*d*

In the welhowse.

One brasse panne	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
Buckett chaynes and other utensills	xij.*s*

In the new chamber.

One bedsteed	ix.*s*
One matteryce	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
A fether bed	xx.*s*
A fether bolster	ij.*s* iiij.*s*
Twoe flock bolsters	ij.*s* iiij.*d*
One dornix coverled	ij.*s* vj.*d*
One Turkye coverledd	ij.*s* vj.*d*
One other bedsteed	vij.*s* viij.*d*
One coverled	vj.*s*
A thrummed blanquett	ij.*s* viij.*d*
A fether bedd	xx.*s*
A fether bolster	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
A flock bed	v.*s*
A flock bolster	ij.*s*
An other blanquett	ij.*s* viij.*d*
A boord bedsteed	xij.*d*
A matterice waled	v.*s*
A wolbed and flock bolster	x.*s*
A fether bolster	ij.*s* viij.*d*
Twoe coverleddes of woven stuff	xij.*s*
Twoe other of Turkye olde	ij.*s*
One chaire	ij.*d*
A table	viij.*d*
Glasse, viij. foote	ij.*s* iij.*d*
A windowe curtayne and rodd	xij.*d*

In the warehowse.

A greate cheste	ij.*s* iiij.*d*
A table boord	xij.*d*
Foure peare of sheetes and ij. towells	vj.*s* viij.*d*

Digitized by Google

Three benches	iij.*s*
Twoe loose boordes	xij.*d*

In the roomes next beneth th'entrye.

Glasse, vij. foote	ij.*s* iiij.*d*
Twoe chestes	xiij.*s* iiij.*d*
Twoe coffers	iiij.*s*
The iij. plate chells of brasse	iij.*s*
One warmynge pan	ij.*s* vj.*d*
One sheppick and other od stuffe	xij.*d*

In his lodginge chamber.

A bedsteed testerne paynted	v.*s*
A matterice	ij.*s*
A fether bed	xiij.*s* iiij.*d*
A bolster	xx.*d*
A fether bolster	iij.*s*
Twoe flock bolsters	iij.*s*
A peare of blanquettes	viij.*s*
A coverled of Dornyx	iij.*s*
A trundle bed	ij.*s* vj.*d*
A fether bed	xiij.*s* iiij.*d*
A dowle bed	xl.*s*
A peare of blanquettes	v[iij.*s*]
A coverled of woven stuff	x.*s*
A fether bolster	iiij.*s*
An iron bound small trunck	iij.
Twoe coffers	iiij.*s*
A money fosset	vj.*d*
A joyned stoole	
A shelfe	
Brushes	

Over the kitchen.

Foure rakes, a staffe, xxij Twoe dozen of gutter t[iles]	iiij*s*. ij.*d*
A barrowe	
A greate spynnyge w[heele]	

Digitized by Google

Twoe vessells of fe...	
A kilne hayre....	
A hogshead	
Bristowe lyme	
A trevett, a well dragg	xx.*d*
An old coffer and nameles u[tensils t]here	vj.*d*

Over the warehowse.

A peece of bag clothe	v.*s*
A keeche of tallowe	vj.*s* viij.*d*
Wicker bottles	iij.*s*
Three pailes	xviij.*d*
Twoe sope barrells	iiij.*d*
A hatchell	v.*d*
Pottes and cruses xxx	ij.*s* iiij.*d*
Trenches viij. dossen	xvj.*d*
Twoe barrells, ij. scuttells, a fanne, and ij. dozen of besomes	ij.*s*
Three shelves	ij.*s* iiij.*d*
Twoe lether bottells, ij. woodden rakes, one iron rake, one jack, and a hamer	xiij.*d ob.*

In the kylne chamber.

Twoe hen pennes	v.*d*
Twoe shovells	vj.*d*
A malt syve	ij.*d*
An olde strike	xij.*d*
An old coffer and a scuttle	xij.*d*
A malt querne	v.*s*
A lanthorne	xx.*d*
A halfe hogshead and cover	xij.*d*
A wynnow sheete	xxiij.*d*
Paynted clothe	iij.*d*
Three halfe hogsheades	xviij.*d*
Seaven baskettes	xxj.*d*
Twoe wallettes	vj.*d*
Fyve keeches of tallowe	xxvj.*s* viij.*d*
Twoe halfe horse hides	v.*s*
Syxe bagges	iiij.*s*

Digitized by Google

A boultinge tubb and a knedinge troughe	iiij.*s*
Three boulters	*ob. q*r.
A wayne rope	ij.*s*
A peare of scales	iij.*d*
A scull	*ob. q.*
A bagg of mustard seed	v.*d*
A barrell bottell	ij. *ob.*

In the longe stable.

One olde pype and one old hogshead	ij.*s*
Two benches	viij.*d*
One bill, one spade, and two sheppickes	xvj.*d*
A geldinge, saddle and bridle	xl.*s*

Osterye.

An axe, a sawe, iij. wedges, and a lanthorne	ij.*s* vj.*d*
Twoe halfe tubbs, a ladder, seaven planckes, and one bedsteed	iv.*s*
Three scuttles, one byn, a shelfe, and a rattes trapp	xij.*d*

In the Ote chamber, over the stable.

Beanes and otes viij. quarters	iij.*li* iij.*s*

In the yarde.

Fowre ladders	iiij.*s*
Plankes, theales and boordes	ij.*s* vj.*d*
One stone coffyn	ij.*s* vj.*d*

In the boord yard.

Faggottes, ij. lodes	ix.*s*
Hovell postes and poles, furzes over and woodd under	xxxviij.*s* viij.*d*
A pile of poles at the barne ende	xxvj.*s* viij.*d*
One other hovell of hard woodd	xvij.*s* iiij.*d*

In the hey barne.

Hey	xx.*li*

In the cole howse.

Fewell and trowse	v.*s*

Digitized by Google

In the gardeyn.

Three leades	xiij.*s* iiij.*d*

In the fewell howse, and privye howse.

Furzes and billettes	xxiij.*s* iiij.*d*

In the Sellar.

Three tierces of clarett wyne	xiij.*li*
Twoe buttes of sack	xxxiiij.*li*
Sixe hogsheades of beere	iij.*li*
An old lether jack	viij.*d*
Fowre hogsheades	xiij.*s* iiij.*d*
A greate wodden bottle	viij.*d*
One runlett	viij.*d*
One shelfe ij. planckes and other names utensills	ij.*s* vj.*d*
A greate jugg	iiij.*d*
Certaine remnantes of redd wyne, white wyne and vynigeare	xx.*s*

Plate.

Four little whit silver boules	v.*li*
One goblett of silver parcell gillt	iij.*li*
One silver bole	xxvj.*s* viij.*d*
Fyve silver spoones	xv.*s*
One little silver salt gillt	xx.*s*

In the Fewell barne.

Nyneteene pypes, buttes, and hogsheades	xlvij.*s* vj.*d*
Cogges, rowndes, woodd, cole, and other fewell	xx.*s*
Wylmecote stone	iiij.*s*

In the Spence.

A bason and yoore	xx.*d*
Fowre barrells	ix.*s* iiij.*d*
And all other utensills there	xij.*d*
A lease of Shotterye and broad meadowe, tithe haye for divers yeeres yeet to come	xl.*s*
A lease of twoe closes in Bridgtowne, for a yeere to come	ij.*s*
Beame scales, one todd stone of lead	iiij*s*.

Digitized by Google

In the howse in Churche streete, in the hall there.

Imprimis, pewter xv. peeces	xv.*s*
An old cubbord	xij.*d*
A chayre	iij.*d*
A peare of bellowes	v.*d*
Bacon, three flitchens	xij.*s*

In the parlor.

Fyve cushions	xv.*d*
A coffer	ij.*s*
Twoe sheetes	x.*s*
One napkin and twoe pillow biers	ij.*s*
One pewter pott	xij.*d*
One blew glasse	iij.*d*

In the maides chamber.

One bedsteed	xij.*d*
One olde coverledd	ij.*s*
One better coverledd	ij.*s*
Two blanquettes	vj.*s*
One coffer	xx.*d*
One other bedsteed	xij.*d*
A flock bed and bolster, blanquett and coverledd	iiij.*s*
One other bedsteed	xij.*d*
An olde coverledd	ij.*d*
In the faire chest in the maides chamber, one coverledd of arras	iij.*li*
One other of Tyrkye work	vi.*s* viij.*d*
One carpett	xiij.*s* iiij.*d*
One charger	ij.*s*
Fourteine platters	xviij.*s*
Eighteine small platters and fruyte dishes	xi.*s*
Sixe pottingers	iij.*s*
One pewter chamber pott	xij.*d*
One greate candlestick	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
One lesse faire candlestick	xij.*d*
Twoe small candlesticks	ij.*s*
One pewter candlestick	viij.*d*
One pewter halfe pynt pott	iij.*d*

Digitized by Google

One flaggon pottle pott	iij.*s* viij.*d*
One flaggon quarte pott	ij.*s* iiij.*d*
Fyve red and greene curtaines	xxx.*s*

In the nether parlor.

One cubbord	x.*d*
Twoe longe boordes and foure trestles	ij.*s* vi.*d*
One broken bedsteed, ij. boordes	xij.*d*
One churne, iij. kyvers, one boord, one stoole	ij.*d*
One coffer	xx.*d*
Fowre peare of sheetes	xx.*s*
Three peare of sheetes	xiij.*s*
Fowre towells	iv.*s*
One pillowbier, one napkin	xij.*d*
Earthen pottes and pittchers	xij.*d*

In the men servants chamber.

A boorded bedsteed	xij.*d*
One other suche	xij.*d*
One other suche	xij.*s*
One flock bed and foure bolsters	xj.*s* viij.*d*
One twyllye	v.*s*
One coverledd	xij.*d*
A fourme	ij.*s*
A baskett	ij.*d*
A benche	ij.*d*
A shelfe	ij.*d*
A sheppicke	vj.*d*

In the yarde.

One lead	viij.*d*

In the storehowse.

One table, twoe trestles	xij.*d*
Boordes and shelves xij	vj.*s* viij.*d*
One greate kyver	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
One powdringe tubb	xij.*d*
Twoe buckettes	viij.*d*
A lyttle kyver	iv.*d*

Digitized by Google

A scuttle, a peck, and an old paile	iij.*d*
Three great loomes	x.*s*
A provynder hutche	ij.*s* vj.*d*
Three stooles and an olde tubb	xij.*d*
An old hutche	ij.*d*
A forest bill and a piked staffe	xij.*d*
Foure fleeches of bacon	xx.*s*
One bagg	iiij.*d*
One earthen pott and namelesse utensells there	iiij.*d*

In the kytchen.

A peare of iron rackes	ij*s*. vj.*d*
Twoe peare of cobbardes	ij.*s*
One gryddyron	ij.*d*
Three peare of pot hookes	vj.*d*
One fryinge pan	iij.*d*
One iron barre	iij.*s*
Three spyttes	ij.*s* vj.*d*
One pott lynck	xvj.*d*
One brandyron	viij.*d*
One iron peale	vj.*d*
Three brasse pottes	xxiiij.*s*
A kettle of pott mettell	v.*s*
Twoe little kettles, one posenett, one chafinge dishe, and one candlestick	ij.*s* vj.*d*
One chaferne	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
One platter, ij. sawcers, iij. spoones, one pottinger, one salt of pewter	xvj.*d*
Three old heringe barrells	xij.*d*
Three pailes, one fourme, foure shelves	ij.*s*
One piggen, one chesfate, and a broad woodden platter	vj.*d*

In the garner howse.

Malt dryed, xviij. quarters	x.*li* xvj.*s*
One longe corne hutche	v.*s*
One canvas wynnowe clothe	ij.*s*
One yeeling vate	vj.*s* viij.*d*
One loome, one kyver, one payle, and one scuttle	iij.*s*

Digitized by Google

In the well yarde.

One yotinge vate and frame	xx.*s*
Fowre boordes, cover of the vate, and a washtubb	xij.*d*
Sixe peeces of tymber and a planck	xx.*s*
One sow and ij. store pigges	xxiiij.*s*
A cheese presse and a washingstock	ij.*s*

In the new chamber.

Malt drye, xxij. quarters	xiiij.*li* xiij.*s* iiij.*d*

In the new howse.

Lyme, iiij. stocke	xx.*d*
Tyles, iiij.*c*	v.*s* iiij.*d*
Twoe old vates	viij.*d*
Wood	viij.*d*
Brushe woodd	viij.*d*

In the yate howse.

Fowre planckes, one peece of tymber, one pigges troughe, and an old hutche	vj.*s*
Greene mallt about the howse	vij.*li* vj.*s* viij.*d*

In the cheese chamber.

A cheese cratche	xvj.*d*
Twoe longe boordes and foure trestles	ij.*s*
A little coffer	viij.*d*
A rattes trapp	iij.*d*
A wayne rope	ij.*s*

In the kilne howse.

One greate kyver, an old messhinge vate, a loome, a fourme, an old tubb, a cole rake, a fier fork, and a ladder	x.*s*

In the greate yarde.

Thornes, furzes, poles and blockes	xx.*s*

In the leane-toe.

A longe ladder	iiij.*s*

Digitized by Google

In the greate barne.

Hey five lodes	iii.*li* vj.*s* viij.*d*
Twoe longe ladders and one short ladder	iij.*s* iiij.*d*
Item, a muck hill	iiij.*s*
Item, ij. quarters of malte in ere	xxvj.*s* viij.*d*
Item, a gold ringe	vj.*s* viij.*d*
Summa .	327.*li* 19.*s* 7.*d*

Exhibitum fuit hoc inventarium decimo septimo die mensis Maij anno Domini 1603 et anno regni regis nostri Jacobi primo.

There are not many terms in the above which require explanation, but the following notes on some of them may not be thought irrelevant :—*Waled matteryce*, a bordered mattrass ; *say*, a delicate kind of woollen cloth ; *Dornix carpett*, a table-cloth of Dornix, which was a coarse sort of damask manufactured at Dornick, the Flemish name of Tournay ; *trundle-bed*, a low bed on small wheels or castors, trundled under another in the daytime, and drawn out at night for a servant or other inferior person to sleep on ; *cubbord-table*, a sideboard ; *twyllye*, a kind of coarse linen ; *paddle staff*, a long staff with an iron spike at the end of it, like a narrow spade; *chafferne*, a saucepan ; *tryne*, wooden ; *tufte taffita*, a taffaty tufted, or left with a knap on it, like velvet ; *tundish*, a wooden funnel through which liquor is poured into casks ; *latten*, plate-tin ; *sheppikes*, hayforks ; *yeelinge vates*, brewing vats ; *querne*, a mill ; *cyvebole*, a colander ; *fosset*, a chest ; *a keeche of tallowe*, the internal fat of an animal as rolled up for the tallow-chandler ; *cruse*, a drinking-cup ; *strike*, a bushel measure ; *theales*, joists ; *trowse*, hedge-trimmings ; *yoore*, ewer ; *pillow-biers*, pillow cases ; *posenett*, a little pot ; *yotinge vate*, a vat for holding water. The names of the different rooms are worth notice, putting us in mind of Prince Henry's account of the drawer's speech : "Anon, anon, sir ! score a pint of bastard in the Half-moon." The "leaneto or spence" was a pantry, built as an out-office. The "yeelinge house" was a brew-house. It is worthy of notice that another inventory, one of the goods apparently of a house in Church Street belonging to the same person, commences at p. 108.

No long inventories of a description like the present one of this date are common, but its chief curiosity arises from the illustration it offers of the domestic economy of a large country inn of the time of Shakespeare ; and in that way it is, so far as I know, unique. It was much such another as that kept by Dame Quickly, even to the ever celebrated parcel-gilt goblet. There is less plate, however, than might have been expected, but, on the whole, the very curious account of the Elizabethan inns, given by Harrison in

Digitized by Google

1580, well applies to the present example. "Those towns," says he, "that we call thorowfaires have great and sumptuous innes builded in them for the receiving of such travellers and strangers as passe to and fro; the manner of harbouring wherein is not like to that of some other countries, in which the host or goodman of the house dooth chalenge a lordlie authoritie over his ghests, but cleane otherwise, sith everie man may use his inne as his owne house in England, and have for his monie how great or little varietie of vittels and what other service himselfe shall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are also verie well furnished with naperie, bedding and tapisterie, especiallie with naperie; for beside the linnen used at the tables, which is commonlie washed dailie, is such and so much as belongeth unto the estate and calling of the ghest. Ech commer is sure to lie in cleane sheets, wherein no man hath beene lodged since they came from the landresse, or out of the water wherein they were last washed. If the traveller have an horsse, his bed dooth cost him nothing, but if he go on foot he is sure to paie a penie for the same; but whether he be horsseman or footman, if his chamber be once appointed, he may carie the kaie with him as of his owne house so long as he lodgeth there. If he loose oughts whilst he abideth in the inne, the host is bound by a generall custome to restore the damage, so that there is no greater securitie anie where for travellers than in the greatest ins of England. Their horsses in like sort are walked, dressed, and looked unto by certeine hostelers or hired servants appointed at the charges of the goodman of the house, who, in hope of extraordinarie reward, will deale verie diligentlie after outward appeerance in this their function and calling. Herein neverthelesse are manie of them blameworthie, in that they doo not onelie deceive the beast oftentimes of his allowance by sundrie meanes, except their owners looke well to them, but also make such packs with slipper merchants which hunt after preie, that manie an honest man is spoiled of his goods as he travelleth to and fro, in which feat also the counsell of the tapsters or drawers of drinke and chamberleins is not seldome behind or wanting. Certes, I beleeve not that chapman or traveller in England is robbed by the waie without the knowledge of some of them; for when he commeth into the inne, and alighteth from his horsse, the hostler forthwith is verie busie to take downe his budget or capcase in the yard from his saddle bow, which he peiseth slilie in his hand to feele the weight thereof; or if he misse of this pitch, when the ghest hath taken up his chamber, the chamberleine that looketh to the making of the beds will be sure to remoove it from the place where the owner hath set it, as if it were to set it more convenientlie somewhere else, whereby he getteth an inkling whether it be monie or other short wares, and therof giveth warning to such od ghests as hant the house and are of his confederacie, to the utter undoing of manie an honest yeoman as he journieth by the waie. The tapster in like sort for his part doth marke his behaviour, and what plentie of monie he draweth when he paieth the shot, to the like

Digitized by Google

end, so that it shall be an hard matter to escape all their subtile practises. Some thinke it a gay matter to commit their budgets at their coming to the goodman of the house; but thereby they oft bewraie themselves; for albeit their monie be safe for the time that it is in his hands, for you shall not heare that a man is robbed in his inne, yet after their departure the host can make no warrantie of the same, sith his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne house; and there cannot be a surer token unto such as prie and watch for those booties than to see anie ghest deliver his capcase in such manner. In all our innes we have plentie of ale, beer, and sundrie kinds of wine, and such is the capacitie of some of them, that they are able to lodge two hundred or three hundred persons, and their horsses, at ease, and therto with a verie short warning make such provision for their diet as to him that is unacquainted withall may seeme to be incredible. Howbeit of all in England there are no worse ins than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the best that I have heard of in anie forren countrie, if all circumstances be dulie considered." There are numerous scattered notices of taverns in our early popular literature, but I am not aware of any account of an Elizabethan country tavern so remarkably descriptive and interesting as is the one now quoted.

Digitized by Google

AN ITINERARY OF KING EDWARD THE FIRST.

COMPILED BY

THE REV. CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE, M.A.

ABBREVIATIONS AND AUTHORITIES.*

Pat. - *Rotuli Lit. Patentium.*
Lib. - *Liberate Rolls.*
Fin. - *Excerpta è Rotulis Finium.*
Close. - *Close Rolls.*
P. S. - *Privy Seal.*
Vasc. - *Gascon Rolls.*
Chart. - *Charter Rolls.*
P. W. - *Parliamentary Writs.* } *Printed by the Record Com-*
M. W. - *Military Writs.* } *missioners.* 4 vols., fol.
R. S. - *Rotuli Scotiæ. Printed by the Record Commis.*
Fœd. - *Rymer's Fœdera.* New Edition. Vol. i, part ii.
Rep. D. P. *Report Dignity of Peerage.* Vol. iii. Append. i, pt. i.
I. R. - *Issue Rolls of the Exchequer, pr. in Extracts,* 1837.
L. G. - *Liber Garderobæ.* 28 *Edw. I. Roman numerals cited as Arabic.*
C. T. - *Calendar of Records in the Tower. Dep. Keeper's Report,* vi, 1845. App ii. Also *Calendar of Records in Dep. Keeper's Report,* viii, 1860.
M. E. - *Madox's History of the Exchequer.* Edition 1711.
Bar. Ang. *Madox's Baronia Anglica.*
F. B. - *Madox's Firma Burgi.*
C. R. P. - *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium. Printed by the Record Commissioners.*
Rot. Parl. *Rolls of Parliament.* Vol. i.
S. R. - *Statutes of the Realm.* Vol. i. *Printed by the Record Commissioners.*
Reg. Con. *Registrum Abbatiæ apud Aberconweye. Printed by Camden Society.*
Prynne - *The History of King John, King Hen. III, and the Most Illustrious King Edward I, by William Prynne.* London. Fol. 1670.
Y. - - *Memoirs Illustrative of the County and City of York. (Transactions of Institute.) York.* 1846.
Dugdale - *Dugdale's Monasticon.* New Edition.
Arch. - *Hunter's Paper in the Archæologia on the Death of Eleanor of Castile.*

Rex applicuit apud Dovor die Jovis prox' post f'm S. Petri ad Vincula 1274 et die dominica proxima post f'm assumptionis B. Mariæ prox' sequens coronatus fuit in eccl'ia S. Petri Westm. anno supradicto, et regni sui secundo. Pat. Roll., 2 Edw. I.

2 EDWARD I.

1274.†

Aug.
5 Canterbury - Close.
6 Canterbury - Lib.
7 Canterbury - Pat.
10 Tonbridge - Pat.
11 Tonbridge - Fin.
12 Tonbridge - Pat.
15 Croynden - Pat.
16 Croynden - Fin.
19 Westminster -
20 Westminster - Fin.
21 Westminster - Close.
22,23 Kennington - Fin.
24-26 Windsor - Pat.
27 Windsor - Prynne, 135, Close
28 Windsor - Pat.
30 Odiham - I. R. 90.
Sep.
2 Odiham -
8 Windsor - Fin.
9 Windsor - Pat.
10 Windsor - Prynne, 133, Pat.
11,12 Windsor - Fœd. 516, & Pat.
13 Windsor - Fin.
14-16 Windsor - Pat.
17 Windsor - Fin.
19 Windsor - Close.
20 Windsor - Pat.
21 Windsor - Close.
22 Windsor - Pat.
23-25 Windsor - Pat.
26 Windsor - Prynne, 134, Pat.
27 Windsor - Pat.
28 Windsor - Lib.
Oct.
1 Windsor - Lib.
2 Windsor - Pat.
5 Tower of London - Pat.
6 Tower of London - Lib.
7,8 Tower of London - Pat.
9 Tower of London - Lib.
10 Tower of London - Prynne, 134, Pat.
11 Tower of London - Fœd. 517, Pat.
12 Westminster - Lib.
13-15 Westminster - Pat. [111, Pat.
16 Westminster - Fœd. 518, C. T.
17 Westminster - Pat.
18 Westminster - Prynne, 134, Pat.
19 Westminster - Lib.
20,21 Westminster - Fœd. 518, Pat.
22 Westminster - Fin.
23,24 Westminster - Pat.
25 Westminster - Lib.
26 Westminster - Pat.
27 Stebenheth (Stepney), Westmr. - Pat.
28 Westminster - Pat.

3 EDWARD I.

Nov.
1 Luton - Pat.
2 Luton - Prynne, 134, Pat.
3 Northampton - Fœd. 518
4,5 Northampton - Fin.
6 Northampton - Lib.
7 Northampton - Fin.
8-10 Northampton - Pat.
11 Northampton - Fœd. 519, Pat.

* Where the mention of authorities is omitted, the compiler has been indebted to a Manuscript Itinerary in the custody of the Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls.

† Landed at Dovor on Thursday after the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, 1274. Pat. 2 Edw. I.

Digitized by Google

12	Northampton	Pat.
18	Fotheringay	Close.
19	Fotheringay	Lib.
20	Fotheringay	Fin.
21	Fotheringay	Close.
22	Clyve	Fœd. 519, Pat.
23	Clyve	Pat.
24	Clyve, Westminster	Pat., Prynne, 134
25	Clyve	Pat.
26	Clyve	Prynne, 174, Pat.
27	Clyve	Pat.
30	Clyve	Prynne, 152, Pat.
Dec.		
1	Clyve	Fine.
3	Clyve	Prynne, 174, Pat.
6	Geytinton	Close.
7	Geytinton	Pat.
10	Geytinton	Pat.
11,12	Geytinton	Close.
13-16	Geytinton	Pat.
18	St. Martin's-le-Grand, London	C. R. P. 46.
20	Oveston	Prynne, 165, Pat.
21	Silveston	Pat.
22	Brackele, Silveston	Close.
23	Brackele	Fine.
24	Wodestok	
25	Woodstock	Pat.
26	Woodstock, Gillingham	Pat., Prynne, 177.
27	Wodestok	P. W., R. D. P., 36.
28	Woodstok	Fœd. 520, Pat.
29	Woodstok	Pat.
30	Woodstock	Fœd. 519.

1275.

Jan.		
1	Radecote	Close.
2	Radecote	Pat.
3	Kinmeresforth	Fine.
4	Aldeburn	Pat.
5	Ramsbury	Close.
6,7	Merleberg	Prynne, 173, Pat.
8	Merleberg	Prynne, 175.
9	Marlboro	Close.
10-12	Ramsbury	Pat.
13,14	Upavene	Pat.
15	Ambresbyr	Prynne, 174, Pat.
16,17	Clarendon	Pat.
18	Clarendon	C. T. 261, Pat.
19	Clarendon	Pat.
21	Clarendon	Close.
22	Ringwood	Pat.
23	Ringwood	Prynne, 162, Pat.
24,25	Beaulieu Regis	Close.
26,27	Beaulieu Regis	Pat.
28	Romsey	C. T. 108.
29	Romsey	Pat.
30	Wherewell	Close.
31	Overton	Pat.
Feb.		
2	Caversham, Reading	Prynne, 166, Pat.
3-5	Caversham	Prynne, 166, Pat.
7,8	Windsor	Pat.
9	Windsor	Fœd. 520, Pat.
10	Windsor	Pat.
11	Windsor	Close.
12	Windsor	Pat.
15	Windsor	Prynne, 166, Pat.
16	Windsor	Pat.
17	Windsor	Close.
18	Windsor	Prynne, 171, Pat.
19	Windsor	Close.
20	Windsor	Pat.
21	Windsor	Prynne, 172, Pat.
22	Windsor	Close.
23-27	Windsor	Pat.
28	Windsor	Close.
Mar.		
1-3	Windsor	Pat.
4	Windsor	Prynne, 173, Pat.
5	Windsor	Close.
6	Windsor	Prynne, 161, Pat.
7	Windsor	Pat.
8	Windsor	Close.
9	Windsor	Pat.
10	Windsor	Fine.
11	Windsor	Pat.
12	Windsor	Lib.
13-15	Windsor	Pat.
16	Cyppeham	Pat.
18	Querendon, Risboro	Pat., Fine.
19	Querndon	Close.
25	Aylesbury	Prynne, 172, Pat.
26	Aylesbury	Fine.
27,28	Aylesbury	Pat.
Apr.		
10	Weston	Pat.
11-13	Weston	Close.
14,15	Weston	Pat.
16	Royston	Close.
17	Balsham	Lib.
18	St. Edmunds	Close.
19	Lavenham	Pat.
21	Witham	Fine.
22	Wallingford	Fœd. 521.
23	Balsham, Havering	Pat.
24	Westminster, Havering	Close.
25,26	Westminster	Pat.
27	Westminster	Fœd. 522, Pat.
28	Westminster	St. R. 39.
29,30	Westminster	Pat.
May.		
1	Westminster	Pat.
2	Westminster	Prynne, 163.
3	Westminster	Pat. [262, Pat.
4,5	Westminster	Fœd. 522, C. T.
6	Westminster	Close.
7	Westminster	Prynne, 171, Pat.
8	Westminster	C. T. 101, Pat.
9	Westminster	Prynne, 1204, Pat.
10	Westminster	Pat.
11	Westminster	C. T. 111.
12	Westminster	Pat.
13	Westminster	Close.
14-20	Westminster	Pat.
21,22	Westminster	Close.
23	Westminster	Fœd. 523, Pat.
24	Westminster	Pat.
25	Westminster	P. W.
26	Westminster	Pat.
27	Westminster	P. W., Pat.
28	Westminster	M. E. 166, Pat.
29	Westminster	Pat.
30	Westminster	Fœd. 525, Pat.
Jun.		
1,2	Westminster	Pat.
3	Westminster	Close.
4,5	Westminster	Pat.
6	Westminster	P. W., Pat.
7,8	Westminster	Pat.
9	Westminster	Close.
10	Westminster	Pat.
11	Westminster	Close.
12	Westminster	Pat.
13	Westminster	Fœd. 525, Pat.

Digitized by Google

14	Westminster	Close.
15	Westminster	Prynne, 168, Pat.
16-19	Westminster	Pat.
20	Westminster	P. W., Pat.
21,22	Westminster	Pat.
23	Westminster, Bernes	Close, Fine.
24	Westminster, Bernes	Prynne, 173, Pat.
26	Bernes, Westminster	Prynne, 170, Pat., Close.
27	Bernes	Prynne, 174, Pat.
29	Westminster	Close.
30	Westminster	Prynne, 173,
July		[Close.
2	Bernes, Westminster	Pat., Close.
4	Bernes	Pat.
5	Bernes, Westminster	Pat., Close.
9	Kennington	Fine.
10	Keninton	Prynne, 159, Pat.
12	Keninton	Prynne, 162, Pat.
13	Estwood, Kennington	Prynne, 178, Lib.
14	Kennington	Pat.
15	Windsor	Pat.
16	Windsor	St. R. 89, Pat.
17,18	Windsor	Pat.
19	Windsor	Close.
20,21	Windsor	Pat.
22	Wycumbe	Pat.
24	Thane, Brehull	Pat., Fine.
25	Brehull	Pat.
26	Brehull	Close.
27	Brehull	Lib.
28	Brehull	Fœd. 527, Pat.
29,30	Brehull	Pat.
Aug.		
2	Bekel	Prynne, 173, Pat.
3	Beckel	Pat.
5	Oxford	Fine.
6	Oxford	Fœd. 527, Pat.
7	Oxford	Pat.
8-10	Woodstock	Pat.
11	Woodstock	Close.
12	Woodstock	Fœd. 527, Pat.
14	Bannebury	Pat.
15	Kenilworth	Pat.
16	Mirivale, Kenilworth	Close.
17	Merrival	Prynne, 161, Pat.
18	Burton upon Trent	Pat.
19	Ashburn in Peak	Pat.
20,21	Tideswell	Pat.
22	Tideswell	Close.
24	Rockingham, Macclesfield	Fœd. iii, 82, Close.
26	Macclesfield	Pat.
30	Wocheseye. R.	Fœd. 528.
Sep.		
1	Chester	Fine.
3,4	Chester	Pat.
7	Berkened	Close.
9	Berkened	Fine. [Rot. m. 10.
10	Chester, Berkened	Fœd. 528, Pat.
11	Chester, Tervyn	Pat.
12	Tervyn, Acton	Pat., Close.
13	Acton	Fine.
14	Heleye	Pat.
15	Heywood	Close.
16	Lichfield	Pat.
17	Myrivall	Pat.
18	Ayleston	Pat.
19	La Laund	Pat.
20	Thirlewall, La Lund	Fœd. 529, Pat.
21	La Laund	Pat.
22	Atheston	Pat.
23	Atheston	Close.
24	Lidington	Pat.
26	Lidington, Geytinton	Close.
27	Lidington	Fine.
28	Geytinton	Fine.
29	Geytinton	Close.
Oct.		
1	Hirtlingborough	Pat.
4	Leyghton	Pat.
5	Westminster, Berkhampstead	Prynne, 162, Fine.
7	Windsor	Close.
8	Windsor	Pat.
9	Windsor	Fine.
10,11	Windsor	Pat.
12	Windsor	Fine.
14	Westminster	Close.
15	Westminster	Pat.
16	Westminster	Fine.
17-26	Westminster	Pat.
27	Westminster	Close.
28,29	Westminster	Pat.
30	Westminster	Prynne, 162, Pat.
31	Westminster	Pat.

4 EDWARD I.

Nov.		
1	Westminster	Close.
2	Westminster	Pat.
3	Westminster	P. W., Pat.
4	Westminster	Prynne, 168, Pat.
5	Westminster	Fœd. 530, Pat.
6-8	Westminster	Pat.
9	Westminster	Lib.
10	Westminster	Pat.
11	Westminster	Fœd. 530.
12	Westminster	M. E. 502, Pat.
13	Westminster	Pat.
14	Westminster	I. R. 89.
15	Westminster	Fœd. 531, Pat.
16	Westminster	Close.
21-23	Tower of London	Pat.
24	Tower of London	M. E. 619, Pat.
25,26	Tower of London	Pat.
28	Westminster	Prynne, 178.
Dec.		
2	Bynedon	Pat.
5,6	Windsor	Chart.
7	Windsor	Pat.
8	Winchester, Windsor	Prynne, 185, Pat.
9	Windsor	Pat.
10,11	Reading	Cl.
13	Marlboro	Cl.
15	Marlboro	Pat.
16	Uppavene	I. R. 91, Cl.
18	Woodford	Cl.
19	Dunton	Fine.
24	Gillingham	Pat.
26,27	Gillingham	Pat.
28	Woodstock, Gillingham	Prynne, 162, Pat.
29	Gillingham	Cl.
30	Cerministr, Castle Neuton	Lib., Fine.
31	Cherminster, Benyndon	Pat., Cl.

1276.

Jan.		
2,3	Bynedon	Fine.
4	Caneford, Bynedon	C. R. P. 46, Cl.

Digitized by Google

5	Warham	Cl.
7	Caneford	Prynne, 178, Pat.
10	Nusteling	Cl.
11	Winchester	Cl.
13,14	Winchester	Pat.
15	Winchester	Cl.
16	Winchester	Fine.
17,18	Winchester	Pat.
19	Winchester	Prynne, 183.
20	Winchester	Prynne, 178, Pat.
22	Winchester	Pat. [17 d.
23	Winchester	Rot. Claus. m.
24	Winchester	Lib.
25-27	Winchester	Pat.
30	Lutegareshal	Cl.
Feb.		
1-7	Marlboro	Pat.
10	Kynemeresford	Pat.
11-13	Quennington	Pat.
14	Polton	Prynne, 183, Pat.
15	Pulton	Pat.
16	Burford	Cl.
19	Cumpton	Cl.
20	Cumpton	Pat.
21	Cumpton	Cl.
23	Cumpton	Pat.
24	Bannebury	Pat.
26	Byfield	Fine.
28	Rowell	Cl.
Mar.		
1	Lydington	Cl.
2-4	Lydington	Pat.
5	Coxton	Cl.
8	La Bruere	Pat.
9	La Bruere Temple	Prynne, 179, Pat.
10	Temple Bruere	Pat.
11	Temple Bruere	Fine.
12	Temple Bruere	Pat.
13	Temple Buere	Cl.
14	Wadington	Pat.
15	Lincoln	Cl.
16	Lincoln	Pat.
19	Kirketon	Cl.
21	Caistorp	Fine.
22	Barton upon Humber	Cl.
23	Barton	Pat.
24	Barton	Cl.
25	Thorneton	Fine.
26	Thorneton	Cl.
27	Castre and Limbergh	Fine.
29-31	Sixsle	Pat.
Apr.		
2	Nettleham	Pat.
4	Lincoln	Pat.
6,7	Lincoln	Pat.
8	Lincoln	Fine.
11	Peterboro	Cl.
13,14	Therfield	Pat.
15	Dynesleye	Fine.
17	Langley	Pat.
18	Coleham	Cl.
20	Coleham	Fine.
21	Kennyngton	Cl.
22	Kennyngton	I. R. 88, Pat.
23-25	Kennyngton	Pat.
26	Kennyngton	Lib.
27,28	Kennyngton	Pat.
30	Westminster	Pat.
May.		
1-3	Westminster	Pat.
4	Westminster	I. R. 89.
5,6	Westminster	Pat.
7	Westminster	Cl.
8	Westminster	I. R. 89.
9-18	Westminster	Pat.
19	Westminster	Fine.
20	Westminster	Pat.
21-23	Westminster	Pat.
24	Westminster	Cl.
25	Westminster	Pat.
27-30	Westminster	Pat.
June.		
1-4	Westminster	Pat.
5	Westminster	Fœd. 533.
6,7	Westminster	Pat.
8	Westminster	M. E. 583, Pat.
9	Westminster	Pat.
10	Westminster	
13	Dereford	Lib.
15	Chichester, Aldingbourn	Pat.
16	Chichester, Aldingbourn	Pat.
17	Aldingbourn	Pat.
18	Chichester	Pat.
23-26	Lewes	Pat.
29	Lechton	Pat.
July.		
1	La Bataille	Pat.
2	Romney and Winchelsea	Pat.
3	Romney	Pat.
4	Horton	Cl.
5	Canterbury	Cl.
7	Canterbury	Pat.
8	Canterbury	Prynne, 180, Pat.
11	Relegh	Cl.
12,13	Estwood	Pat.
14	Estwood	Fine.
16	Thurrock	
18	Tower of London	Rot. Pat. m. 5.
19-23	Westminster	Pat.
24	Westminster	Prynne, 179, Pat.
25	Westminster	Prynne, 185.
26,27	Westminster	Pat.
28	Westminster	Cl.
31	Windsor	Pat.
Aug.		
1-3	Windsor	Pat.
6	Odiham	Pat.
8	Odiham	Pat.
11	Odiham	Lib.
13	Selbourn	Cl.
14	Selbourn	Pat.
16	Selbourn	Pat.
19	Beaulieu Regis	Pat.
21	Assheley	Pat.
23	Assheley	Fine.
25,26	Lyndhurst	Pat.
28	Lyndhurst	Pat.
29	Beaulieu Regis	Cl.
30	Beaulieu Regis	Lib.
Sept.		
1	Lindhurst	Lib.
2	Beaulieu Regis	Pat.
3,4	Lyndhurst	Cl.
7	Clarendon	Pat.
10	Clarendon	Pat.
12	Westminster	
13	Boyton	Pat.
14	Frome	Pat.
15	Bath	Pat.
17,18	Keynsham	Pat.
20	Bristol	Pat.
21	Bristol	Cl.
22	Bristol	Pat.
23	Bristol	C. R. P. 46, Pat.

Digitized by Google

24	Bristol	Pat.
27	Gloucester	Pat.
29	Worcester	Pat.
30	Worcester	Fine.
Oct.		
1	Worcester	Pat.
2	Evesham	Pat.
3	Swell	Cl.
4	Woodstock	Pat.
5	Brehull	Cl.
6	Lutegareshal	Vasc.
8	Langley	Pat.
12	Westminster	Pat.
13	Westminster	Lib.
14	Westminster	Cl.
15	Westminster	Pat.
16	Westminster	Prynne, 185.
17-24	Westminster	Pat.
25	Westminster	Fine.
26	Westminster	C. T. 98.
27,28	Westminster	Pat.
29	Westminster	Fœd. 535, Pat.
30	Westminster	Pat.

5 EDWARD I.

Nov.		
1	Westminster	P. W., Pat.
2	Westminster	Pat.
3	Westminster	Cl.
4-6	Westminster	Pat.
7	Westminster	C. T. 263.
8	Westminster	Pat.
9	Westminster	Cl.
11	Westminster	Pat.
12	Windsor, Westminster	P. W. 193, Pat.
13-15	Westminster	Pat.
16	Westminster	P. W. 193, Pat.
17,18	Westminster	Pat.
29	Clarendon	Prynne, 1219.
Dec.		
3	Baudak	Pat.
7,8	Windsor	Pat.
10	Windsor	Pat. [Fœd. 537.
12	Windsor and Abingdon	P. W. 195, Pat.,
13	Windsor	Fœd. 539.
14	Windsor	Cl.
15,16	Westminster, Windsor	Fœd. 537, Pat.
17	Henley	Pat.
19	Wallingford	Cl.
20	Abingdon	Pat.
24	Cirencester	Pat.
26	Cirencester	Fœd. 540.
27	Cirencester	Pat.
28	Cirencester	P. W. 195, Pat.

1277.

Jan.		
2	Bampton	Cl.
3	Bampton	Pat.
6	Osenye	
8	Windsor	Fœd. 541.
11	Bampton	Pat.
12	La Bruere	Cl.
13	Brehull	[Pat. m. 24.
14	La Bruyere	Fœd. 541, Rot.
15	Otington	Pat.
17	Henley	Pat.
18,19	Blockel	Pat.
21	Evesham	Prynne, 1217.
24	Worcester	C. R. P. 47, Cl.
25-27	Worcester	Pat.
Feb.		
1,2	Woodstock	Pat.
3	Woodstock	Cl.
4	Woodstock	Pat.
5	Woodstock	P. W. 196, Pat.
6,7	Woodstock	Pat.
9	Woodstock	Pat.
13	Banbury	Pat.
18	Banbury	Cl.
20	Banbury	Pat.
21	Banbury	Cl.
22	Halso	Prynne, 191, Pat.
23	Halso	Cl.
27	Buk	Pat.
28	Newton Longville	Pat.
Mar.		
1,2	Dunstable	Pat.
3	Luton	Pat.
4	Hitchin	Pat.
5	Baldock	Fine.
6	Royston	Pat.
7	Royston	Fine.
8	Royston	Pat.
9	Fulmere	Pat.
11	Barnwell	Fine.
12	Barnwell	Pat.
13	Landbech and Waterbech	Pat.
16	Ely	Cl.
17	Derham	Cl.
18	Gaywood	Cl.
19	Norwich, Gaywood	Prynne, 194, Pat.
20	Cokesford	Cl.
23	Gymingham	Cl.
24	Bromholm	Pat.
27	Norwich	Fine.
28	Norwich	Pat.
29	Norwich	Prynne, 195, Pat.
30	Norwich	Pat.
31	Norwich	Cl.
Apr.		
1	Norwich	Pat.
2	Norwich	Cl.
4	Yarmouth	Fine.
8	Dunwich	Cl.
9	Framlingham	Prynne, 195, Pat.
10	Framlingham	Cl.
11	Orford	Cl.
12	Ipswich	Pat.
14	Neyland	Lib.
15	Neyland	Pat.
16	Witham	Pat.
17	Writtle	Pat.
18	Havering	Fine.
20	Havering	Pat.
24,25	Westminster	Pat.
26	Westminster	Fine.
27	Westminster	Cl.
28	Westminster	Pat.
29	Westminster	R. Lib. m. 6.
30	Westminster	Pat.
May.		
1	Westminster	Fœd. 542.
2	Westminster	Cl.
3-7	Westminster	Pat.
8	Westminster	Prynne, 194, Pat.
9	Westminster	Pat.
10	Westminster	Cl.
11	Westminster	Pat.

Digitized by Google

12 Westminster - - - Prynne, 191, Pat.
13,14 Westminster - - - Pat.
15 Westminster - - - Fœd. 542, Pat.
16,17 Westminster - - - Pat.
19 Stanstede - - - Vasc.
20 Havering atte Bower - - C. T. 261.
22 Windsor - - - - Pat.
23 Windsor - - - - Cl.
24 Windsor - - - - Fœd. 543, Pat.
25-27 Windsor - - - - Pat.
28 Windsor - - - - Cl.
29 Windsor - - - - Lib.
30 Windsor - - - - Pat.

June.

1 Windsor - - - - R. Lib. m. 3, 7.
2,3 Windsor - - - - Pat.
4 Windsor - - - - Fine.
5-9 Windsor - - - - Pat.
11 Thame - - - - Pat.
12 Thame - - - - Fine.
13,14 Brehull - - - - Pat.
15 Brehull - - - - Cl.
16 Brehull - - - - Pat.
17 Brehull - - - - Vasc.
18 Brehull - - - - Pat.
19 Brehull - - - - Fine.
20 Brehull - - - - Pat.
22 Beckel - - - - Cl.
24-27 Woodstock - - - Pat.
28-30 Wichindon - - - Pat.

July

1 Gloucester - - - Pat.
2 Prestbury - - - - Pat.
3-6 Worcester - - - - Pat.
7 Worcester - - - - Rot. Pat. m. 9.
8 Storton - - - - Pat.
9 Wolverhampton - - -
10-13 Eccleshall - - - Pat.
16 Chester - - - - Prynne, 195, Pat.
17-20 Chester - - - - Pat.
21 Chester - - - - Prynne, 191, Pat.
26 In Castris prope Basingwerk - Pat.
27 In Castris prope Basingwerk - Prynne, 196, Pat.
28 In Castris prope Basingwerk - Pat.
29 In Castris prope Basingwerk - Lib.

Aug.

2 Birkenhead - - - Cl.
3 Birkenhead - - - Pat.
4 Birkenhead - - - Cl.
5 Birkenhead - - - Pat.
6 Stanton - - - - Pat. [544, Pat.
8 Walrescote - - - P. W. 213, Fœd.
9 Warescote - - - Pat.
10,11 Ines (Ince) - - - Pat.
12,13 Brumburgh - - - Pat.
18 In Castris prope Basingwerk - Pat.
20 In Castris prope Basingwerc - M. E. 581, Pat.
21-23 In Castris prope Basingwerk - Pat.
25 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
28 Windsor - - - -

Sept.

2,3 Chester - - - -
4 Woodstock - - - Fœd. 544.
6 Chester - - - -
10 Gannon - - - - Cl.
15 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
20 Chester - - - -
22,23 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
27 Rotherham - - - Cl.

Oct.

1 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
4,5 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
7-10 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
12 Chester - - - -
13 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
15 Rothelan - - - - Cl. [Lib. m. 1.
16 Shrewsbury - - - C. R. P. 47, R.
17-27 Sallop - - - -
28 Shrewsbury - - - Prynne, 190.
29,30 Salop - - - - Pat.

6 EDWARD I.

Nov.

2 Sallop - - - -
9 Rothelan - - - - Prynne, 389.
10 Rothelan - - - - Fœd. 546.
11 Rothelan - - - - Fœd. 547.
15 Rothelan - - - - Fœd. 547, Pat.
16 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
17 Rothelan - - - -
21-26 Sallop - - - -
28 Salop, Montgomery - - R. Lib. m. 4, Pat.
30 Sallop - - - -

Dec.

2,3 Salop - - - - Fine.
6 Worcester - - - Fœd. 548, Fine.
10 Sallop - - - -
14 Burnell, Acton Burnell - -
18 Westminster - - - Pat.
22 Oxon - - - -
24 Westminster - - - Pat.
26 Westminster - - - Fine.
27 Westminster - - - Pat.
28,29 Westminster - - - Fine.
30 Westminster - - - Cl.

1278.

Jan.

1,2 Westminster - - - Pat.
3 Tower of London - - - Pat. [Pat.
4 Tower of London, Westminster - Fœd. 548, 549,
5,6 Tower of London - - - Pat.
7 Tower of London - - - Lib.
8 Tower of London - - - Prynne, 220.
9 Tower of London - - - Cl.
10-12 Tower of London - - - Fine.
13 Tower of London - - - Cl.
14,15 Tower of London - - - Pat.
16 Tower of London - - - Fine.
17 Westminster - - - Prynne, 220, Fine.
18 Westminster - - - R. Lib. m. 3.
19 Westminster - - - Fine.
28,29 Dover - - - - Fine.

Feb.

1 Dover - - - - Prynne, 221, Fine.
2 Dover - - - - Pat.
3,4 Dover - - - - Fine.
5,6 Dover - - - - Pat. [Fine.
7 Dover - - - - C. T. 108, 266,
8,9 Dover - - - - Pat.
10 Dover - - - - Prynne, 221, Pat.
11 Dover - - - - Fine.
12 Northburn - - - Fine.
14-16 Northburn - - - Fine.
18 Canterbury - - - Pat.
19 Westminster - - - [C.R.P. 47.
20 Ospring, Dover - - - Pat., C. T. 108,
21 Newenton - - - Pat.
22 Merston - - - - Pat.
23 Lesnes - - - -

Digitized by Google

24	Tower of London	Fine.
25	Tower of London	Pat.
28	Henle	Cl.
Mar.		
1	Brichtwell, Donamereye	Fine, Fœd. 554.
2	Henle	Fine.
3	Henton	Fine.
4	Lechlade	Pat.
6	Quenynton	Pat.
8	Quenynton	Fine.
9	Quenynton	
11	Quenynton	Fine.
12	Quenynton	Cl.
15	Quenynton	Fine.
16	Quenynton	Pat.
17	Quenynton	Fine.
18	Quenynton	Pat.
19	Downamney	Cl.
20	Downampney	C. T. 98, Fine.
21	Downamney	Cl.
24	Downamney	Vasc.
25	Downampney	Fine.
26	Downamney	Pat.
27	Downamney	Cl.
28	Downamney and Elecumb	Fine.
29	Elecumb, Elindon	Fine, Pat.
Apr.		
3	Devises	Pat.
4	Devises	Fine.
6	Devises	W. R.
7	Edindon	Pat.
8	Deverel	Fine.
9	Bruyton	Pat.
10	Camel	
11,12	Camel	Pat.
13	Somerton	Fine.
14	Glastonbury	Fine.
15	Glastonbury	Pat.
17	Glastonbury	Close.
18	Glastonbury	Fine.
19	Glastonbury	Pat.
20	Glastonbury	Close.
21	Wells	Fine.
22	Well	Prynne, 197.
23	Bruyton	Pat.
24	Gillingham	Pat.
25	Dunhefed	Fine.
26	Chalk	Cl.
27	Fordingbridge	Pat.
29	Lyndhurst	Cl.
May.		
2	Lyndhurst	Cl.
4	Winchester	Prynne, 223, Fine.
5	Winchester	Fine.
6	Gennyng	Prynne, 198.
15,16	Westminster	Fine.
17	Westminster	Pat.
18	Westminster	Fine.
20,21	Westminster	Pat.
22	Westminster	Fine.
23	Westminster	Pat.
24-26	Westminster	Fine.
27,28	Westminster	Pat.
29	Westminster	Fine.
30	Westminster	Cl.
June.		
1,2	Westminster	Pat.
3	Westminster	Fine.
4	Westminster	Fœd. 558.
5	Westminster	C. T. 98.
6,7	Westminster	Fine.
8,9	Westminster	Pat.
10	Westminster	Cl.
11	Westminster	Pat.
12	Westminster	Fœd. 558, Fine.
14	Westminster	C. R. P. 47, Fine.
15,16	Westminster	Pat.
17	Westminster	Fœd. 558.
18	Westminster	Fine.
20	Westminster	Bar. Ang. 97, Pat.
22	Westminster	Cl.
23-25	Westminster	Pat. [214, Pat.
26	Westminster	Fœd. 559, P. W.
28	Westminster	Pat.
July.		
1	Windsor	Prynne, 220.
10	Windsor	Fœd. 559, C. T.
11	Windsor	Cl. [249, Pat.
12,13	Windsor	Pat.
14	Windsor	Fœd. 560, Pat.
15	Windsor	Fœd. 560, Pat.
25	Clarendon	Cl.
26	Clarendon	Prynne, 215.
27	Clarendon	Pat.
29	Clarendon	Pat.
Aug.		
1	Lutgarshall	W. A. 5.
2	Marlborough	
3	Gloucester	Cl.
5	Creklade	W. A.
6,7	Gloucester	Pat.
8	Gloucester	Prynne, 215, Pat.
10-13	Gloucester	Pat.
14	Gloucester	Fine.
15	Gloucester	Pat.
16	Tutbury, Gloucester	C. T. 242, Pat.
20	Lemynister, Cowern	Cl.
21	Lemynister	Pat.
22	Ludlow	W. A.
26	Church Stretton, Stratton	Cl.
27	Church Stretton, Stretton	Cl.
28	Rushbury, Longnor	Pat., Vasc.
30	Sallop	W. A. 5.
Sept.		
1	Salop	Pat.
2	Sallop	W. A.
5	Shotwyk	Cl.
7	Rothelan	W. A.
10	Rothelan	Pat.
11	Rothelan	Prynne, 215, Pat.
12	Rothelan	Pat.
13	Flint	Cl.
14	Flint	Pat.
15	Shotewyke	Fœd. 562, Pat.
16	Shotewyk	Pat. [219, Pat.
17	Shotewyke	Fœd. 562, Prynne
27	Macklesfield	Vasc.
28	Macklesfield	Pat.
30	Macklesfield	Pat.
Oct.		
1-3	Macklesfield	Pat.
4	Gloucester	St. R. 50.
10	Brewood	Pat.
11	Storton, Tourton	Pat., Cl.
12-14	Worcester	Pat.
15	Worcester	Cl. [1225, Pat.
17	Cuberle	C. R. P. 47, Pryn.
23,24	Windsor	Pat.
25	Westminster	Pat.
26	Windsor	Pat.
27-31	Westminster	Pat.

Digitized by Google

7 EDWARD I.

Nov.
1,2 Westminster - - - Pat.
3 Westminster - - - Cl.
4-6 Westminster - - - Pat.
7 Westminster - - - Prynne,1228,Pat.
8 Westminster - - - Fœd. 563, C. T.
9-11 Westminster - - - Pat. [241, Pat.
12 Westminster - - - Cl.
13,14 Westminster - - - Pat. [M. 1.
15 Westminster - - - M. E. 749, R. Lib.
16 Westminster - - - Pat.
23 New Market - - - Fine.
27-29 Norwich - - - - Pat.
Dec.
1 Norwich - - - - Cl.
3 Burg - - - - Ch.
4,5 Burg - - - - Pat.
7 Windsor - - - - Fœd. 564.
15 New Market - - - Fine.
18 Baldock - - - - Cl.
21 St. Albans - - - Pat.
26 Windsor - - - - Prynne, 238, Cl.
27 Windsor - - - - Cl.
28 Windsor - - - - Pat.
29 Windsor - - - - Cl.
30 Windsor - - - - Pat.

1279.

Jan.
1-3 Windsor - - - - Pat.
4 Windsor - - - - Fœd. 565, Pat.
5-7 Windsor - - - - Pat.
8 Windsor - - - - Cl.
9,10 Windsor - - - - Pat.
11 Windsor - - - - Fine.
12 Windsor - - - - Pat.
14 Windsor - - - - Cl.
15 Guildford - - - - Cl.
20-24 Westminster - - - Pat.
25 Westminster - - - C. T. 90, Pat.
Feb.
4 Woodstock - - - Fœd. 565, Pat.
5,6 Woodstock - - - Pat.
7 Woodstock - - - Fœd. 566.
10,11 Woodstock - - - Pat. [48, Pat.
12 Woodstock - - - Fœd. 566, C. R. P.
13 Woodstock - - - Fine.
15 Woodstock - - - Pat. [98, Pat.
16 Woodstock - - - Fœd. 566, C. T.
17 Woodstock - - - Vasc.
18 Woodstock - - - Pat.
20 Woodstock - - - Lib.
28 Woodstock - - - Cl.
Mar.
3 Woodstock - - - Pat.
5 Woodstock - - - Fine.
6 Woodstock - - - Pat.
7 Woodstock - - - Lib.
8 Woodstock - - - Vasc.
11 Woodstock - - - Fœd. 567, Pat.
12 Woodstock - - - M. W. 219, Fœd.
13 Woodstock - - - Fine. [567, Pat.
20 Wodestock - - -
21 Quenynton - - - Pat.
22 Quenynton - - - Cl.
23 Quenynton - - - Pat.
24 Quenynton - - - Fine.
25 Downamney - - - Pat.
27 Downamney - - - Fine.
29 Lechlade - - - - Fine.
30 Lechlade - - - - C. T. 110.
Apr.
3 Lechlade - - - - C. T. 89.
4 Lechlade - - - - Cl.
5 Lechlade - - - - Pat. [109.
11 Brehull - - - - Fœd. 568, C. T.
16 Westminster - - - Prynne, 240.
17 Westminster - - - Fine.
18 Westminster - - - Pat.
19 Westminster - - - Cl.
20-26 Westminster - - - Pat. [Fœd. 568.
27 Westminster - - - M. W. 220, Pat.,
28 Westminster - - - Fœd. 568, Pat.
May.
1 Westminster - - - Lib.
7 Canterbury - - - Fœd. 570, Pat.
8 Dovor - - - - Pat.
9 Canterbury - - - Pat.
10 Dovor - - - - Pat.
12 Dovor - - - - Pat.
13 Dovor - - - - Cl.
21 Amiens - - - -
23 Ambian - - - - Vasc.
24 Amiens - - - - Vasc.
26 Arenes - - - - Pat.
29,30 Abbeville - - - - Vasc.
June.
2-7 Abbeville - - - - Vasc.
8 Le Gard, Logard - - - Prynne,228,Vasc.
9-11 Garda prope Ruam - - Vasc.
12 Cressy - - - - Vasc.
13 Cressy and Valoilles - - Vasc.
14 Waban - - - - Vasc.
15 Dovor - - - - Pat.
16 Musteroll - - - - Prynne,242,Vasc.
17 Dovor - - - - St.
19 Dovor - - - - Pat.
20,21 Canterbury - - - Pat.
25 Ledes - - - - Prynne, 243, Pat.
29 Westminster - - - St.
July
3-7 Westminster - - - Pat. [48, Pat.
8 Westminster - - - Fœd. 575, C. R. P.
13 Windsor - - - - Pat.
14 Park of Windsor - - - C. T. 276, Pat.
15-19 Windsor - - - - Pat.
24 Windsor - - - - M. E. 166, Pat.
25 Windsor - - - - Pat.
27,28 Windsor - - - - Pat.
Aug.
1 Brehull - - - - Pat.
3 Brehull - - - - Pat.
4 Brehull - - - - Cl.
5 Brehull - - - - Pat.
7 Buk - - - - Fine.
8 Selveston - - - - Lib.
14 Oveston - - - - Pat.
15 Oveston - - - - Vasc.
16 Getyngton - - - Cl.
17,18 Getyngton - - - Pat.
20 Rockingham - - - Pat.
21 Lydington and Ockham - - Cl.
22 Ockham - - - - Cl.
24 Nottingham - - - Fine.
25 Nottingham - - - Pat.
26 Nottingham - - - Cl.
27,28 Nottingham - - - Pat.

Digitized by Google

Sept.
4 Clipstone - - - - C. T. 105.
5 Clipstone - - - - C. T. 108.
7 Nottingham, Gedling - - Pat., Lib.
8,9 Nottingham - - - Pat.
13 Buckeden - - - - Cl.
14 Buckeden - - - - Fine.
16 Biggleswade - - - Fine.
20 Westminster - - - Cl.
21,22 Westminster - - - Pat.
23 Westminster - - - C. T. 264, Pat.
24 Westminster - - - Pat.
28 Estwood - - - - Cl.
29 Estwood - - - - Pat.
Oct.
1 Estwood - - - - Fine.
3 Estwood - - - - Lib.
4 Estwood - - - - Pat.
5 Gillingham - - - Fine.
7 Tenham - - - - C. T. 112.
8 Canterbury - - - Fine.
12 Westminster - - - Cl.
14 Westminster - - - C. T. 103, Cl.
15-17 Westminster - - - Pat.
18 Westminster - - - Cl.
19,20 Westminster - - - Pat.
21 Westminster - - - Cl.
22 Westminster - - - Pat.
23 Westminster - - - Cl.
24-26 Westminster - - - Pat.
27 Bernes - - - - Pat.
28,29 Westminster - - - Pat.
30 Westminster - - - Ch.
31 Westminster - - - Fine.

8 EDWARD I.

Nov.
2 Westminster - - - Cl.
3,6 Westminster - - - Pat.
7 Westminster - - - Prynne, 226, Pat.
8 Westminster - - - Cl.
9,10 Westminster - - - Pat.
11 Westminster - - - Wall.
12 Westminster - - - Fœd. 576, Pat.
13,14 Westminster - - - Pat. [51, Pat.
15 Westminster - - - Bar. Ang. 99, S. R.
17 Westminster - - - Pat.
22 Westminster - - - Prynne, 251.
25-28 Windsor - - - - Pat.
Dec.
1 Westminster - - - Prynne, 248.
10 Queninton - - - Pat.
14 Queninton - - - Pat.
18 Devises - - - - Fine.
19 Divises - - - - Cl.
20 Winchester - - - Ch.
24-26 Winchester - - - Pat.
27 Winchester - - - Ch.
28 Winchester - - - Pat.
29 Winchester - - - Ch.

1280.

Jan.
1 Winchester - - - Pat.
2 Winchester - - - Fœd. 576, Pat.
4,5 Winchester - - - Pat.
6 Winchester - - - Prynne, 252, Pat.
7 Winchester - - - Pat.
16 Lyndhurst - - - Ch.
19 Lyndhurst - - - Pat.
20 Lyndhurst - - - Prynne, 247, Pat.
Feb.
4 Kingston - - - - Pat.
6 Kingston - - - - Cl.
11 Clarendon - - - Cl.
12 Clarendon - - - Pat.
16 Clarendon - - - Fine.
17 Clarendon - - - Fœd. 578, Pat.
18 Clarendon - - - Pat.
20 Clarendon - - - Pat.
22 Clarendon - - - Pat.
23 Upavene - - - - Pat.
25 Marlboro - - - - Cl.
26 Marlboro - - - - Pat.
27 Marlboro' - - - -
28 Down Amney - - - Pat.
Mar.
1 Down Amney - - - Fine.
2 Down Amney - - - Pat. [273, Pat.
3 Dounamen - - - Fœd. 578, C. T.
4 Down Amney - - - Pat.
5 Down Amney - - - Fine.
6 Down Amney - - - Pat.
8 Down Amney - - - Pat.
12-14 Down Amney - - - Pat.
15 Down Amney - - - Cl.
16 Dunameneya - - - Fœd. 578.
17 Down Amney - - - Cl.
23 Down Amney - - - Pat.
25 Down Amney - - - Cl.
26 Down Amney - - - Pat.
27 Down Amney - - - Cl.
28,29 Cirencester - - - Pat.
31 Cirencester - - - Pat.
Apr.
3 Gloucester - - - Pat.
4 Gloucester - - - Cl.
10 Gloucester - - - Pat.
12 Gloucester - - - Cl.
13 Berkeley - - - - Fine.
14 Berkeley - - - - Cl.
15 Berkeley - - - - C. T. 107, Cl.
16 Berkeley - - - - Ch.
19 Bristol - - - - Pat.
21 Bristol - - - - Cl.
22 Bristol - - - - Pat.
23 Bristol - - - - Prynne, 247, Pat.
24 Bristol - - - - Fœd. 579, Fine.
May
1 Stapleford - - - - Pat.
5 Odiham - - - - Pat.
8 Windsor - - - - Fine.
9,10 Windsor - - - - Pat.
13-17 Westminster - - - Pat.
18 Westminster - - - Fœd. 580, Pat.
19-21 Westminster - - - Pat.
22 Westminster - - - Prynne, 248.
23 Westminster - - - Cl.
24-27 Westminster - - - Pat.
28 Westminster - - - Prynne, 245, Pat.
29 Westminster - - - Pat.
30 Westminster - - - Fine.
June
1 Westminster - - - Fine.
2 Westminster - - - Pat.
3 Westminster - - - Fœd. 582, Pat.
4-6 Westminster - - - Pat.
8 Westminster - - - Pat.
9 Westminster - - - Vasc.
10 Westminster - - - Fœd. 582, Pat.

Digitized by Google

11	Westminster	Pat.
17	Dorchester	Pat.
18	Reading	
23	Odiham	Pat.
24	Odiham	Fine.
25	Odiham	Cl.
26-29	Odiham	Pat.
July		
4	Den	Cl.
5-9	Seleburn	Pat.
10	Seleburn	Prynne, 246, Pat.
13	Windsor	Cl.
14	Windsor	Pat. [107.
15	Langley	Fœd. 584, C. T.
16	Langley	Pat.
17,18	Langley	Fœd. 585, Pat.
20	Langele	Prynne, 251, Pat.
22	Gatesden	Pat.
23	Leghton	Pat.
24	Newport Pagnel	Pat.
25	Northampton	Cl.
26	Northampton	Pat.
27	Leicester	Pat.
28	Leicester	Close.
29	Nottingham	Ch.
30	Nottingham	Pat.
Aug.		
1	Newsted	Cl.
2-4	Newsted	Pat.
5	Clipston	Pat.
7,8	Coningburg and Oddisak	Pat.
10	Hanepol	Pat.
11	Pontefract	Pat.
13	Cawood	Cl.
15	York	Cl.
16	York	Pat. [103.
17	York	Fœd. 585, C. T.
18	York	Pat.
19	York	Fœd. 586, Pat.
20	York	Pat.
24	Ripon	Pat.
27	Richmond	Fœd. 586.
29	Boghes	Vasc.
30	Appleby	Pat.
Sept.		
3	Skelton	Pat.
7,8	Carlisle	Pat.
9	Carlisle	Cl.
10	Carlisle	Pat.
11	Carlisle	Ch.
14	New Castle upon Tyne	Cl.
15	Newcastle	
16	New Castle upon Tyne	Pat.
18	Durham	Pat.
20	Stocton	Pat.
25	Pickering	Pat.
27	Scarboro	Pat.
Oct.		
5	Lincoln	Pat.
6	Lincoln	Cl.
7	Lincoln	Pat.
8	Westminster	M. E. 587.
11	Rockingham	Pat.
16	Langele	Prynne, 244, Pat.
17-18	Langele	Pat.
24	Westminster	Pat.
25	Westminster	Fine.
26	Westminster	Cl.
27,28	Westminster	Pat.
30	Westminster	Prynne, 244, Pat.

9 EDWARD I.

Nov.		
2	Westminster	Fine.
3-5	Westminster	Pat.
6	Westminster	Fœd. 587.
7,8	Westminster	Pat.
10,11	Westminster	Pat.
12	Westminster	Prynne, 247, Pat.
13	Westminster	Cl.
14,15	Westminster	Pat.
17	Westminster	Fœd. 588.
18	Westminster	Pat.
20	Westminster	Lib.
22	Westminster	Fœd. 588, Pat.
23	Westminster	Vasc.
24	Westminster	Pat.
25	Westminster	Wall.
26	Westminster	Pat.
27	Westminster	Fine.
28	Westminster	Prynne, 272, Pat.
29	Westminster	Ch.
30	Westminster	Chart.
Dec.		
1-4	Westminster	Pat.
5	Westminster	Prynne, 272, Pat.
7	Tower of London	Ch.
8,9	Tower of London	Pat.
24	Burgh	Prynne, 276, Pat.
25	Burgh	Cl.
26	Burgh	Ch.
27	Burgh	Cl.
28	Burgh	Pat.
30	Burgh	Cl.

1281.

Jan.		
1,2	Burgh	Pat.
6	Walsingham	Fine.
7,8	Walsingham	Pat.
9	Binham	Lib.
14,15	Shuldham	Pat.
16	Shuldham	Cl.
17,18	Shuldham	Pat.
19	Windsor	Chart.
21,22	Westacre	Cl.
25	Docking	Lib.
31	Docking	Fine.
Feb.		
1,2	Rising	Pat.
7	Coleford, St. Edmunds	Prynne, 273, Pat.
8	Coleford	Pat.
9,10	Deseninge	Pat.
12	Deseninge	Fine.
13	Fulmere	Pat.
15,17	Langley	Pat.
18	Shirburn	Fœd. 589.
19-21	Windsor	Pat.
22	Windsor	Fœd. 589, Pat.
23,24	Windsor	Pat.
26	Kaversham	Pat.
27	Kaversham	Cl.
Mar.		
2,3	Abingdon	Pat.
5	Lecchelade	Fine.
6	Lecchelade	Pat.

Digitized by Google

7,8	Down Amney	Pat.
11	Down Amney	Fine.
12	Down Amney	
15	Down Amney	Pat.
16	Down Amney	Fine.
17	Down Amney	
20	Down Amney	Cl.
21	Down Amney	Pat.
25	Aumbresbury	Pat.
26	Ambresbury	Fine.
27	Clarendon	Cl.
28	Clarendon	Pat.
29	Clarendon	Fine.
30	Clarendon	Pat.
Apr.		
1	Clarendon	
2	Clarendon, Woodstock	Pat., Fine.
3	Clarendon	
4	Clarendon	Fine.
5	Lotegareshal	Pat.
11	Woodstock	Fine.
12	Woodstock	
14	Woodstock	Pat.
16	Woodstock	Pat.
18	Woodstock	Prynne, 275.
19	Woodstock	Cl.
20	Woodstock	Lib.
21	Woodstock	Pat.
22	Woodstock	Fine.
23	Woodstock	Pat.
24	Woodstock	Cl.
26	Woodstock	
27	Woodstock	Pat.
May		
1	Tame	Prynne, 269, Pat.
3	Kenington	Pat.
5	Kenynton	Fœd. 591, Pat.
8	Westminster	Pat.
9	Westminster	Prynne, 272.
10-13	Westminster	Pat.
14,15	Westminster	Fœd. 591, Pat.
16	Westminster	Lib.
17	Westminster	Pat.
18	Westminster	Prynne, 273, Pat.
19,20	Westminster	Pat.
21	Westminster	Prynne, 270, Pat.
22	Westminster	Cl.
23-24	Westminster	Pat.
25	Westminster	Prynne, 270, Pat.
26,27	Westminster	Pat.
28	Clarendon, Westminster	Prynne, 1238, Pat.
29	Westminster	Cl.
30	Westminster	Pat.
June		
1,2	Westminster	Pat.
3	In regali Palatio, Westminster	Pryn. 250, Pat.
4,5	Westminster	Pat.
6	Westminster	Fœd. 593, Pat.
7	Westminster	Cl.
8	Westminster	C. T. 113, Pat.
9	Westminster	Chart.
10	Westminster	Pat.
12	Langley	Pat.
15	Kenyton	Lib.
20	Langley	Fine.
27-30	Westminster	Pat.
July		
1	Westminster	Fœd. 593.
2	Westminster	Prynne, 1252.
3	Westminster	Fœd. 594.
4	Westminster	Pat.
5	Westminster	Fœd. 594.
6	Westminster	Pat.
7	Westminster	Prynne, 273, Pat.
8	Westminster	Close.
9	Westminster	Pat.
10	Westminster	St. R. 52.
11	Westminster	Pat.
12	Westminster	Prynne, 270, Pat.
13	Westminster	Pat.
15,16	Havering	
20	Hatfield, Badew	Pat., Close.
22	Hatfield Peverel	Fine.
24,25	Copford	Pat.
26	Copford	Chart.
27	Copford	Prynne, 277, Pat.
28	Westminster	Prynne, 274.
Aug.		
1,2	Estwood	Pat.
3	Fobingo	Pat.
4	Tilbury	Pat.
5	Rochester	Pat.
6	Ledes	Cl.
7	Ledes	Fine.
8	Ledes	Prynne, 277, Cl.
10	Ospring	Pat.
12	Canterbury	Prynne, 273, Pat.
15	Hurst	Pat.
16	Tutbury	C. T. 242.
20	Chichester	Fine.
24	Tradinton	Cl.
30	Bynstead	Cl.
Sept.		
1	Windsor, Westminster	Pat., Prynne, 273.
2	London, Westminster	C. T. 107, Pat.
4	Windsor	Fine.
5-7	Windsor	Pat.
8	Windsor	Prynne, 272, Pat.
10	Windsor	Fœd. 597, Pat.
12	Windsor	Vasc.
15	Odiham	Pat.
18	Assheley, Lyndhurst	Pat., Prynne, 253.
19,20	Lyndhurst	Pat.
22	Lyndhurst	Pat.
23	Lyndhurst	Fine.
24	Lyndhurst	Cl.
26	Lyndhurst	Pat. [C. R. P. 49.
28	Lyndhurst	Fœd. 598, Pat.,
29	Lyndhurst	Pat.
Oct.		
1	Lyndhurst	Fœd. 598.
2,3	Lyndhurst	Pat.
4	Lyndhurst	Fœd. 598.
6	Lyndhurst	Lib.
8	Winchester	Pat.
10	Winchester	Fœd. 599.
12	Winchester	Prynne, 275, Pat.
14	Winchester	Fine.
15	Winchester	Pat.
18	Guildford	Pat.
21	Guildford	Pat.
24	Westminster	Pat.
26,27	Westminster	Pat.
28	Westminster	Prynne, 271, Pat.
29,30	Westminster	Pat.

Digitized by Google

10 EDWARD I.

Nov.
1,2 Westminster - Pat.
3 Wallingford, Westminster - C. T. 243, Pat.
4 Guildford, Westminster - M. E. 241, Pat.
5 Westminster - Lib.
6-8 Westminster - Pat.
10-12 Westminster - Pat.
13 Westminster - Fœd. 599, Pat.
14 Westminster - Pat.
15 Westminster - Fine.
16-18 Westminster - Pat.
19 Westminster - Fine.
20-22 Westminster - Pat.
23 Westminster - Prynne,1255,Pat.
24 Westminster - Prynne, 295, Pat.
25 Westminster - Prynne, 293, Pat.
26 Westminster - Fœd. 599, Pat.
27 Westminster - Prynne, 296, Pat.
28 Westminster - Pat.
29 Westminster - Cl.
30 Westminster - Fine.

Dec.
1 Westminster - Fœd. 599, Pat.
9 Thame - Pat.
14 Woodstock - Pat.
15 Woodstock - Cl.
16 Woodstock - Pat.
20 Swell - Fœd. 600.
25 Worcester - Prynne, 294, Pat.
26 Kemeseye - Vasc.
27 Kemeseye - Fœd. 600.
28 Kemesey - Pat.

1282.

Jan.
1 Pershore - Cl.
2 Pershore - Pat.
4 Pershore - Chart.
5-8 Pershore - Pat.
11 Uffenham - Lib.
12 Evesham - Vasc.
13 Weston, Uffenham - Pat., Close.
14 Weston - Pat.
18 Hayles - Pat.
23 Cirencester - Pat.
24 Cirencester - C. T. 107, Pat.
25,26 Cirencester - Cl.
27 Cirencester - Prynne, 287, Pat.
28 Cirencester - Pat.

Feb.
2 Cirencester - Pat.
4 Cirencester - Fœd. 601, Pat.
7 Cirencester - Pat.
8 Cirencester - C. T. 109.
10 Cirencester - Fœd. 602, Pat., C. R. P. 50.
12 Cirencester - C. T. 108, Pat.
13 Shireburn - Lib.
15 Shireburn - Prynne,1249,Pat.
17 Shirburne - Prynne, 292, Pat.
18 Shirburne - C. T. 109, Pat.
20 Shirburn - Pat.
23-25 Quenynton - Pat.
27 Quenynton - Vasc.
28 Quenynton - Pat.

Mar.
2 Queninton - Cl.
3 Down Amney - Cl.
5 Down Amney - Pat.
7 Down Amney - Pat.
8 Down Amney - Fine.
10 Down Amney - Pat.
12 Down Amney - Pat.
14,15 Down Amney - Fine.
16 Down Amney - Pat.
19 Down Amney - Pat.
22 Malmesbury - Fine.
23 Malmesbury - Pat.
24 Stanlegh - Fine.
25 Stanford, Stanley - M. W. 222, W. R.
26 Stanley - Pat.
28 Devises - Fœd. 603.
29 Devises - Pat.
30 Devises - W. R.
31 Devises - Pat.

Apr.
1 Devises - Fine.
2 Devises - Cl.
3,4 Devises - Pat.
5 Devises - Fine. [40.
6 Devizes - M.W.222,R.D.P.
7 Devisez - Pat.
8 Devizes - C. T. 270, Pat.
9 Devises - Pat.
10 Devizes - M. W. 224, Pat.,
11 Devises - Cl. [R.Claus.m.6.
13 Devises - Fœd. 604, Pat.
14 Devises - Pat.
15 Devises - Cl.
16 Devises - Lib.
17 Devises - W. R.
18 Devises - M. W. 224, Pat.
23 Stanley - Prynne,1253,Pat.
24 Stanley - Lib.
30 Gloucester - Fœd. 606, Pat.

May
1 Gloucester - Prynne, 286, Pat.
2 Gloucester - Prynne, 289, Pat.
3-5 Gloucester - Pat.
8 Gloucester - Cl.
9 Hanlegh - Pat.
10 Hanlegh - Cl.
16 Worcester - Prynne, 297, Pat.
17 Worcester - Pat.
18 Worcester -
19 Worcester - Pat. [Fœd. 607.
20 Worcester - M. W. 224, Pat.,
21 Worcester - Prynne, 290, Pat.
22 Worcester -
23 Herrlebury - Pat. [608, Pat.
24 Hertilbury - M. W. 225, Fœd.
25 Hertilbury - W. R.
26 Acton Burnel - M. W. 226, W. R.
28 Acton Burnel - Cl.
30 Acton Burnel - W. R.

June
1 Salop - Cl.
2 Salop - Pat.
3 Ercalewe (Ercall) - Pat.
4 Addredeley - Pat.
5 Wichium Mauban - W. R.
6 Chester - W. R.
7 Chester - Pat.
8 Chester - Fœd. 609, Pat.
9 Chester - Vasc.
10 Chester - Fœd. 610, Pat.
11 Chester - Chart.
12 Chester - Cl.

Digitized by Google

13 Chester - - - - Pat.
15 Chester - - - - Cl.
16 Chester - - - - Vasc.
17 Chester - - - - Pat.
18 Chester - - - - W. R.
19,20 Chester - - - - Pat.
21 Chester - - - - Prynne, 290, Pat.
22 Chester - - - - M. W. 227, Pat.
23 Chester - - - - C. T. 103.
24 Chester - - - - Chart.
26 Chester - - - - Prynne, 290, Pat.
27 Chester - - - - Pat.
28 Chester - - - - Fine.
29 In Castris apd Newton - - Pat.
30 In Castris apd Newton - - Cl.

July

1 Chester - - - - Pat. [45.
2 Chester - - - - M.W.227, R.D.P.
3 Chester - - - - Pat.
4 Chester - - - - Cl.
5 Chester - - - - Pat.
6 Flint - - - - M. W. 227, Pat.
8 Rothelan - - - - Prynne, 296.
10 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
12 Rothelan - - - - Prynne, 295.
13 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
14 Rothelan - - - - Pat. [45, Pat.
15 Rothelan - - - - M.W.227, R.D.P.
18,19 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
20 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
21 Rothelan - - - - Fœd. 612.
22-25 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
26 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
27 Rhudland - - - - Prynne, 291, Pat.
28 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
30 Rothelan - - - - M. W. 228.

Aug.

1 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
4-10 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
11 Rothelan - - - - Fœd. 613, Pat.
12 Rothelan - - - - Fine.
13 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
14 Rothelan - - - - Fine.
15 Rothelan - - - - Prynne, 297, Pat.
16 Rothelan - - - - R. Claus. m. 2.
17 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
18 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
20 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
23 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
30 Ruthyn - - - - Fine.
31 Ruthyn - - - - Cl.

Sept.

1 Ruthyn - - - - Pat.
2 Ruthyn - - - - W. R.
3 Ruthyn - - - - Cl.
4 Ruthyn - - - - Fine. [91, Pat.
8 Rutthyn - - - - Fœd. 615, C. T.
12 Addernewyn - - - W. R.
13 Dymmayn - - - Cl.
18 Thlangernon - - - Cl.
20 Thlangernon - - - Pat.
21,22 Thlangernon - - - Cl.
24-28 Rothelan - - - - Pat.

Oct.

2 Thlangernon - - - Fœd. 617, Fine.
4 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
5,6 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
7,8 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
9 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
10 Rothelan - - - - Lib.
11 Rothelan - - - - Fine.
12,13 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
14 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
15 Rothelan - - - - Fine.
16 Rhudland - - - - C. T, 111.
17 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
18 Rhudland - - - - Prynne, 287, Cl.
19 Rothelan - - - - Lib.
20 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
23 Dynbigh - - - - Cl.
24 Denbigh - - - - Prynne, 292, Pat.
25,26 Denbigh - - - - W. R.
27 Denbigh - - - - Prynne, 296, Pat.
28 Dynbey - - - - Pat.
29 Dynbey - - - - Fine.
30 Denbigh - - - - M. W. 243, Pat.
31 Denbigh - - - - W. R.

11 EDWARD I.

Nov.

1 Denbigh - - - - Vasc.
3 Rothelan and Denbigh - - Fine.
5 Dynbey - - - - Pat.
7 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
8 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
10 Rothelan - - - - Pat. [619, Pat.
12 Rothelan - - - - M. W. 244, Fœd.
13 Rothelan - - - - Fine.
14 Rothelan - - - - Prynne, 297.
15 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
17 Rothelan - - - - Lib.
20 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
21 Rhudhland - - - - C. T. 91.
22 Rothelan - - - - Fine.
23 Rhudlan - - - - C. T. 249.
24 Rothelan - - - - M. W. 244, P. W.,
26,27 Rothelan - - - - Pat. [W. R.
28 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
30 Rothelan - - - - Pat.

Dec.

1 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
3,4 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
5 Rothelan - - - - Vasc.
6 Rothelan - - - - M. W. 245, W. R.
7 Rothelan - - - - Close.
8 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
11 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
12,13 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
14 Rothelan - - - - Fine.
15 Rotheland - - - - Pat.
16 Rothelan - - - - Lib.
17 Rhudland - - - - C. T. 91, Cl.
19 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
20 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
21 Rhudland - - - - [107.
22 Rothelan - - - - Fœd. 620, C. T.
25 Rothelan - - - - Fine.
26 Rothelan - - - - Fœd. 620.
27 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
28 Rhudland - - - - C. T. 90, W. R.
29,30 Rothelan - - - - Cl.

1283.

Jan.

1 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
2,3 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
4 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
5 Rothelan - - - - P. W.
6 Rothelan - - - - Prynne,303, W.R.

Digitized by Google

7 Rothelan - - - - Vasc.
8 Rothelan - - - - Prynne, 308.
9 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
10 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
11 Rothelan - - - - W. R. [241, W. R.
12 Rothelan - - - - Fœd. 625, C. T.
14 Thalhurst sup Conway - - Lib.
20 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
21 Blida - - - - Prynne, 321.
27 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
29 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
30 Rothelan - - - - W. R.

Feb.

1 Rothelan - - - - P. W. 11, W. R.,
3 Rothelan - - - - Fine. [Fœd. 625.
4 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
5 Rothelan - - - - Fine.
6-8 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
9 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
12 Rothelan - - - - Fœd. 626, W. R.
14 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
15 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
16 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
17 Rothelan - - - - Fine.
18 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
19 Rothelan - - - - Prynne, 303.
20 Rothelan - - - - Vasc.
23 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
24 Rhudlan - - - - C. T. 242, W. R.
25 Rothelan - - - - Vasc.
28 Rothelan - - - - P. W. 12, W. R.

Mar.

1 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
2 Rothelan - - - - Prynne,301,W.R.
3 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
4,5 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
6 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
8 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
10 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
11,12 Rothelan - - - - W. R.
13 Aberconway - - - W. R.
14 Aberconweye in Snaudon - M. W. 245, W. R.
15 Aberconway - - - Vasc.
16 Aberconway - - - Prynne,317,W.R.
18 Aberconway in Snaudon - P. W. 14, W. R.
20 Aberconway - - - Fine.
21 Aberconveeye in S. - - M. W. 247, W. R.
22 Aberconway - - - W. R.
23 Aberconway - - - Cl.
24 Aberconway - - - W. R.
25,26 Aberconweye - - - Fœd. 627.
27 Aberconway - - - Lib.
28 Aberconway - - - Cl.
30 Aberconway - - - W. R.

Apr.

1 Aberconweye - - - C. R. P. 50, W. R.
2 Aberconway - - - Pat.
3 Aberconway - - - W. R. [107.
4 Aberconweye - - - Fœd. 627, C. T.,
5 Aberconweye - - - Fœd. 628.
6 Aberconway - - - W. R.
7 Aberconway - - - Pat.
8 Aberconway - - - Cl.
9 Aberconway - - - Pat.
10 Aberconway - - - W. R.
11,12 Aberconway - - - Pat.
15 Aberconweye in Sn. - - P. W. 14.
16 Aberconway in Snawdon - St.
17 Aberconway - - - Pat.
18 Aberconway - - - Prynne,303,W.R.
19 Aberconway - - - Fine.
20,21 Aberconway - - - W. R.
22 Aberconway - - - Pat.
23 Aberconway - - - W. R.
24 Aberconway - - - Pat.
25 Aberconway - - - Prynne, 316.
26 Aberconway - - - Pat.
28 Aberconway - - - W. R.
30 Aberconway - - - Pat.

May

1 Aberconway - - - Fine.
2,3 Aberconway - - - W. R.
4 Aberconway - - - Pat.
5 Aberconway - - - Cl.
6 Aberconway - - - Pat.
7 Aberconway - - - W. R.
8 Aberconway - - - Pat.
9 Aberconway - - - Cl.
10 Thlanrust - - - W. R.
12,13 Thlanrust - - - Pat.
14 Dolinthalayn, Glinthluguth - Pat., Fine.
16 Dolindalan - - - Pat.
18 Dolinthalayn - - - Pat.
19 Dolindalan - - - Cl.
20 Dolindalan - - - W. R.
21 Dolindalan - - - Lib.
22 Dolindalan - - - W. R.
23 Dolindelan - - - M. E. 176.
24 Dolindalan - - - W. R.
25 Dolindalan - - - Cl.
26 Dolindalan - - - Lib.
27 Dolindalan - - - W. R.
28 Dolinthalayn - - - Pat.

June

1 Trevor' - - - - Lib.
2 Treveren - - - - Cl.
3 Trevor' - - - - C. R. P. 50.
4 Aberconway - - - Pat.
5 Aberconway - - - Cl.
6,7 Aberconway - - - Pat.
8 Aberconway - - - W. R.
9 Aberconway - - - Pat.
10-12 Aberconway - - - Cl.
13 Aberconway - - - Prynne, 307.
14 Aberconway - - - Welsh R.
15 Aberconweye - - - Prynne, 299, Cl.
18 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
19 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
20 Rothelan - - - - Welsh R.
21 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
22 Rothelan - - - - M. E. 590.
23 Rothelan - - - - P. W. 15.
24 Rothelan - - - - Pat. [R. m. 1.
25 Rothelan - - - - Fœd. 630, Welsh
26 Rothelan - - - - Cl.
27 Rothelan - - - - Dug. Mon. vi, 611
28 Rothelan - - - - P. W. 15, W. R. [m. 2, Welsh,
30 Rothelan - - - - Pat. [Fœd. 630.

July

1 Rothelan - - - - Lib.
2 Aberconway - - - Welsh.
4 Aberconway - - - Pat.
5 Aberconway - - - Cl.
6 Aberconway - - - Pat,
8 Aber - - - - P. W. 15, Cl.
9 Aber - - - - Welsh.
11 Bangor - - - - Prynne, 317, Pat.
12 Carnarvon - - - - Cl.
13 Carnarvon - - - - Pat.
15 Caernarvon - - - Rot. Pat. m. 13.
16 Caernarvon - - - Reg. Conway, p.
17,18 Carnarvon - - - Cl. [13.
20 Carnarvon - - - Close.

Digitized by Google

21	Carnarvon	Pat.
22	Aberderuwonny	Cl.
23,24	Carnarvon	Pat.
25-27	Carnarvon	Cl.
30	Carnarvon	Pat.
Aug.		
2	Alberfran	Prynne, 316, Pat.
3	Alberfron (Anglesey)	Prynne, 316, Pat.
4	Castle-Cuby	Cl.
6	Penros	Cl.
8	Lammays	Cl.
9	Lammays	Fine.
10	Lammays	Cl.
11	Thlanmays	C. T. 248, Cl.
12	Carnarvon	Pat.
13	Kelenok Maur, Killenon Vaur, Caernarvon	Pat., C. T. 256, C. T. 256, Cl.
14	Kellenok Maur	C. T. 259.
15	Crukith	C. T. 243, Cl.
16	Crukith	C. T. 244, Cl.
17	Hardelagh	C. T. 248.
18	Hardelagh	C. T. 253.
20	Carnarvon	
22	Thlanhughelyn	Pat.
24	Derewen Lanagh	C. T. 244, Cl.
25	Ruthyn, Derewen Lanergh	C. T. 252, 256.
26	Hope	Pat.
28	Chester	Prynne, 307, Cl.
29,30	Chester	Cl.
Sept.		
2	Brumburg	Fœd. 634.
3	Brumburg	Cl.
4	Stanley	Prynne, 307, Pat.
6	Vale Royal	R. Lib. m. 4.
10	Macclesfeud	Prynne, 308, Pat.
11	Macclesfield	Welsh.
12	Macclefeud	Prynne, 307, Pat.
13	Macclesfield	Cl.
14	Macclesfield	Pat.
15	Macclesfield	Cl.
16	Macclesfield	
18	Macclesfield	Pat.
20	Macclesfield	Cl.
25	Overton and Cumbermere	Cl.
26	Overton	Pat.
28	Overton	Prynne, 305.
29	Acton Burnel	Pat.
30	Acton Burnel	Cl.
Oct.		
1	Acton Burnel	Prynne, 306.
2	Acton Burnel	Fine.
3,4	Acton Burnel	Cl.
5	Acton Burnel	Prynne, 306, Cl.
6	Acton Burnel	Prynne, 313, Cl.
7	Acton Burnel	Prynne, 315.
8	Acton Burnel	Prynne, 315, Cl.
9,10	Acton Burnel	Cl.
11	Maclesfeud	P. W. 15.
12	Acton Burnel	St. Realm. 54, Cl.
13	Acton Burnell	Fœd. 634, Close, Prynne, 306.
14	Acton Burnel	Cl.
15	Acton Burnel	Fine.
16-19	Acton Burnel	Pat.
20	Acton Burnell	Fœd. 634, C. T. 260, Lib.m.2.
21	Acton Burnel	Pat.
22	Acton Burnel	Prynne, 316.
24	Acton Burnel	Cl.
25	Acton Burnel	Pat.
27	Acton Burnel	Pat.
28	Acton Burnel	Cl.
31	Acton Burnel	Fine.

12 EDWARD I.

Nov.		
1	Acton Burnell	
2-5	Acton Burnel	Pat.
6	Acton Burnel	Cl.
8	Acton Burnel	Cl.
10	Acton Burnel, Hereford	Cl.
12	Acton Burnel, Hereford	Cl.
13	Hereford	Pat.
15	Hereford	Cl.
19	Hereford	Pat.
21	Hereford	Pat.
24	Worcester	Lib.
25	Worcester	Close.
28	Worcester	Pat.
30	Worcester	Pat.
Dec.		
2	Hereford	Close.
5	Hayles	Pat.
6	Acton Burnel	Pat.
8,9	Leominster	Pat.
11,12	Wigmore, Leominster	Pat.
13-15	Acton Burnell	Pat.
16	Salop and Acton Burnel	Pat.
17	Shrewardyn	Fine.
22	Hereford	
24	Rothelan	Pat.
26	Rothelan	Fine.
28	Chester	
31	Macclesfield	Pat.

1284.

Jan.		
1	Crideling	M. E. 571.
6	Criteling	Pat.
8	York, Tadcaster	Pat., Close.
9	York	Pat.
11	York	Pat.
12	York	Fœd. 637, Pat.
14	St. Oswalds	Fine.
16	St. Oswalds	Prynne, 329, Pat.
20	Blida	Close.
21	Clipston	Close.
22	Clipston	Pat.
24	Clipston	Pat.
27	Newerk, Ludham	Pat.
28	Newerk, Lincoln	Pat.
30	Newerk	Fine.
31	Stow Park	Pat.
Feb.		
1	Nettleham	Close.
3	Nettleham	Pat.
4	Nettleham	Close.
6	Nettleham	Pat.
7	Nettleham	Close.
8	Nettleham	Pat.
9	Nettleham	Fine.
10	Lincoln, Nettleham	Close.
11	Nettleham	C. T. 89, Pat.
12,13	Lincoln	Pat.
14,15	Temple Bruere	Pat.
18	Shelton	Pat.
19	Donington	Close.
20,21	Colston Basset	Pat.
22	Burton upon Trent	Pat.
27	Burton upon Trent	Pat.

Digitized by Google

Mar.
4 Heywood - - - - Close.
5 Stane - - - - Close.
6 Heywood - - - - Pat.
8 Rothelan, Heleye - - Prynne, 328, Cl.
9 Wyche, Torple - - - Close.
12 Chester - - - - Pat.
13 Chester - - - - Lib.
15 Basingwerk - - - Fine.
16 Rothelan - - - - Close.
17-20 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
21 Rothelan - - - - Welsh Roll.
22 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
23 Rothelan - - - - M. E. 656, Pat.,
24 Rothelan - - - - Pat. [St. R. 70
26,27 Aberconway - - - Pat.
29 Aberconway - - - Fine.
Apr.
1 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
3 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
4 Carnarvon - - - Lib.
5,6 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
8 Caernarvan - - - Firm. B. 138, Cl.
9,10 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
12,13 Carnarvon - - - Close.
14 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
15 Carnarvon - - - Close.
16-18 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
20 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
21 Carnarvon - - - Fine.
23-25 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
26 Carnarvon - - - Close.
28 Carnarvon - - - Close.
29,30 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
May
1 Carnarvon - - - Close.
2 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
3 Carnarvon - - - Close.
4 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
5 Caernavoon - - - Prynne, 328, Pat.
6 Carnarvon - - - Fine.
9 Neuadarthlan - - - Pat.
10 Neuadarthlan, Hardelagh - Pat.
11 Herdelagh - - - Pat.
23 Crukith - - - - Pat.
24 Crukyn - - - - Close.
25-28 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
29 Carnarvon - - - Welsh Roll.
30,31 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
June
1 Carnarvon - - - Close.
2-4 Carnarvon - - - Fine.
5-7 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
8 Carnarvon - - - Lib.
9 Baladeuthlyn - - - Fine.
10 Baladeulyn - - - Prynne, 325, Pat.
11,12 Baladeuthlyn - - - Pat.
13 Rothelan, Baladeuthlyn - - Prynne, 323, Cl.
14 Baladeulyn, Rothelan - - Prynne, 323, Cl.
15 Baladeuclyn - - - Fœd. 6422.
16 Baladeulyn - - - Pat.
17 Baladeulyn - - -
18 Baladeulyn - - - Pat.
20 Baladeuclyn, Baladonthlyn - Fœd. 643, Pat.,
21 Baladethlyn - - - Cl. [Prynne, 321.
22 Baladeulyn - - - Prynne, 329, Pat.
24 Baladeuthlyn - - - Close.
25-27 Baladeulyn - - - Pat.
28 Baladeulyn - - - Fine.
29 Baladeulyn - - - Close.
July.
3 Baladeulyn - - - Pat.
5 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
6 Caernarvon - - - Fœd. 644.
7 Caernarvon - - - Prynne, 319, Lib.
8 Carnarvon - - - Close.
10 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
11 Carnarvon - - - Lib.
12 Kynros, Caernarvon - - Fœd. 644, Pat.
13 Caernarvon - - - C. T. 248, Pat.
14 Carnarvon - - - Close.
15 Carnarvon - - - Pat. [Pat.
16 Caernarvon - - - Dug. M. v. 674,
17 Carnarvon - - - Welsh Roll.
18 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
19 Caernarvon - - - Fœd. 645.
20 Caernarvon - - - Prynne, 328, Pat.
22 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
24,25 Caernarvon - - - Pat.
26 Carnarvon and Baladeuclyn -
27 Neuyn, Carnarvon, Neugull - Pat.
28 Acton Burnel, Neugull, Neuyn - C. T. 251, Pat.
Aug.
2 Bardeseye - - - Pat.
3 Crucket - - - - Close.
4 Porthelyn, Neugull - - Pat.
5 Porthelyn (Porcelly) - - Pat.
6 Porthelyn - - - Pat.
9 Penvaghan - - - Pat.
10 Penvaghan, Carnarvon - - Pat.
11 Penvaghan - - - Cl.
12 Cleobury - - - - C. T. 248.
14 Shrewsbury, Carnarvon - - C. T. 248, Pat.
15 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
16 Acton Burnell - - -
17 Acton Burnell, Carnarvon - C. T. 248, Pat.
18 Carnarvon - - - - Pat.
20 Carnarvon - - - Pat.
21 Carnarvon - - - Close.
22 Aber - - - - Lib.
23 Aber - - - - Close.
24 Aber - - - - Prynne, 324, Pat.
25,26 Aber - - - - Close.
27,28 Aber - - - - Pat.
30 Aberconway - - - Pat.
Sept.
1 Aberconway - - - Welsh Roll.
2 Overton - - - -
4-6 Rothelan - - - - Pat.
7 Flint - - - - Fine.
8 Flynt - - - - Pat.
9 Flynt - - - -
10 Chester, Shotewick, Flynt - Pat.
11 Chester - - - - Pat.
12 Chester - - - -
13 Chester - - - - Pat.
14 Chester - - - - Fœd. 648, Pat.
15 Chester - - - - C. R. P. 51, Pat.
16 Chester - - - - Close.
17 Shotewick - - -
18 Ryston - - - - Pat.
20 Malpas - - - - Pat.
22 Overton - - - - Pat.
24 Overton - - - - Pat.
25 Overton - - - - Cl.
26 Overton - - - - Lib.
27 Overton - - - - Pat.
28 Overton - - - - Prynne, 324, Pat.
30 Overton - - - - Cl.
Oct.
1,2 Overton - - - - Pat.
3 Overton - - - - Close.
4 Hope in Wales - - - Fœd. 648, Pat.
5 Mons Altus - - - Fœd. 648, Pat.

Digitized by Google

7	St. Asaph, Denbigh	Prynne, 320, Pat.
8	Aberconway, Thlangernon	Cl.
10	Aberconway	Reg. Conway, 14,
11	Aberconway	Pat. [Pat.
13	Carnarvon	Fine.
14,15	Carnarvon	Pat.
16	Carnarvon	Lib.
18	Carnarvon	Pat.
19	Carnarvon	Lib.
20	Carnarvon	Pat.
21	Caernarvon	M. E. 550.
22	Caernarvon	Fœd. 649, Pat.
23	Caernarvon	Reg. Conway, 22,
26	Crukyth	Cl. [Lib.
27	Hardelagh	Pat.

13 EDWARD I.

Nov.		
1	Bere	Lib.
2	Bere	Cl.
3	Bere	Pat.
4	Swanestone, Bere	Prynne, 345, Cl.
5	Bere	Pat.
6	Bere Castle	Cl.
8	Lampader	Fine.
10	Lampader	Pat.
12	Lampader vaur	Pat.
14	Lampader	Pat.
15	Lampader vaur	Lib.
16	Lampader	Pat.
17	Lampader	
18	Apud Bellum locum	Prynne, 345.
20,21	Cardigan	Fine.
22	Cardigan	Prynne, 350, Cl.
23	Cardigan	Pat.
24	Cardigan	Welsh.
28,29	Haverford	Pat.
Dec.		
1	Bristol	
3	Carmarthen	Cl.
4	Carmarthen	Fine.
5,6	Carmarthen	Pat.
7	Carmarthen	Cl.
8	Kedwelly	Cl.
9	Kedwelly	Welsh.
10,11	Oystermouth	Pat.
12	Neath	Pat.
13	Uggemor	Cl.
15	Cardiff	Cl.
16	Cardigan, Cardiff	Prynne, 353, Pat.
18	Strugoil	Pat.
21-25	Bristol	Pat.
26	Bristol	Prynne, 420.
27	Bristol	Pat.
28	Bristol	Fœd. 651, Pat.
29,30	Bristol	Pat.
31	Bristol	Fine.

1285.

Jan.		
1,2	Bristol	Fœd. 651, Pat.
3	Bath	Pat.
7	Marlboro	Pat.
9	Newbury	Prynne, 352, Pat.
10	Odyham and Basinges	Pat.
12	Crundel	Cl.
15	Reygate	Pat.
20	Ledes and Canterbury	Pat.
23	Ledes	Fine.
26	Canterbury	Pat.
27	Canterbury	Cl.
28	Canterbury	Prynne, 347, Pat.
Feb.		
1	Ledes	Cl.
2	Ledes	Prynne, 349, Pat.
4	Ledes	Pat.
12	Hegham	Pat.
21	Estwode	Pat.
23	Teford, Thetford	Pat.
24	St. Edmunds	Pat.
28	Binham	Pat.
Mar.		
7	Binham	Pat.
8	Binham	Liberate.
9	Thornegge	Pat.
13	Gimmingham	Cl.
16	Burg	Pat.
18	Burg	Cl.
23,24	Burg	Pat.
26-29	Burg	Pat.
Apr.		
1	Burg	Pat.
2	Burg	Fine.
3	Burg	Pat.
8	West Derham	Pat.
9	Ely	
10	Ely	Pat.
11	Ely	Cl.
12	Ely and Ditton	Pat.
13	Fulmere	Pat.
14	Baldock	Lib.
15	Baldock	Pat.
19-24	Langley	Pat.
25	Langley	Prynne, 348, Pat.
26,27	Langley	Pat.
28	Langley	Cl.
30	Westminster	Pat.
May.		
1,2	Westminster	Pat.
3	Westminster	Prynne, 352.
4,5	Westminster	Pat.
6	Westminster	M. W. 249, Pat.,
7	Westminster	Pat. [Fœd. 653.
8	Westminster	Prynne, 345, Pat.
9	Westminster	Pat.
10	Westminster	Fœd. 654, Pat.
11	Westminster	Cl.
12	Westminster	Dug.M.vi.88,Pat.
13,14	Westminster	Pat.
15	Westminster	Fœd. 654.
16,17	Westminster	Pat.
18	Westminster	Fœd. 655, Pat.
20	Westminster	Pat.
22,23	Westminster	Pat.
24	Westminster	Cl.
25,26	Westminster	Pat. [Pat.
27	Westminster	Firm. Burg. 43,
28	Westminster	Prynne, 345.
30	Westminster	Pat.
31	Westminster	Lib.
June.		
1	Westminster	Fœd. 655, Pat.
2	Westminster	Pat.
3	Westminster	Cl.
4	Westminster	Fœd. 656, Pat.
5	Westminster	Fœd. 657, Pat.
6	Westminster	Fœd. 658, Pat.
7	Westminster	Pat.
8	Westminster	Close.

Digitized by Google

10	Westminster	Prynne, 345, Pat.
11	Westminster	Fœd. 658. [Pat.
12	Westminster	Firm. Burg. 42,
13	Westminster	Prynne, 351.
14,15	Westminster	Pat.
16	Westminster	Fœd. 659, Pat.
17	Westminster	Prynne, 351, Pat.
18	Westminster	Fœd. 659.
20	Westminster	Fœd. 659, Pat.
22	Westminster	Fœd. 659, Pat.
23	Westminster	Pat.
24	Westminster	Fœd. 659, Pat.
25-27	Westminster	Pat.
28	Westminster	St. R. 100.
30	Westminster	Pat.
July		
1	Westminster	I. R. 98, Pat.,
2	Westminster	Cl. [M. E. 522.
3	Westminster	Fin.
6	Canterbury	Lib.
7-9	Canterbury	Pat.
10	Westminster	Pat.
12	Canterbury	Cl.
13-16	Ledes	Pat.
17	Bukinfaude	Pat.
22	Brembere	Pat.
23	Caernarvon?	C. T. 259.
25	Arundel	Pat.
27	Chichester	Cl.
28	Chichester	Pat.
Aug.		
1	Wolvemere	Pat.
2	Wolvemere	Cl.
3-5	Wolvemere	Pat.
6	Wolvemer	Prynne, 353, Pat.
7	Wolvemere	Lib.
10	Basinges	Pat.
15	Ambresbury	Prynne, 344, Pat.
16,17	Ambresbury	Pat.
18	Ambresbury	Fin.
19	Clarendon	Fin.
20	Clarendon	Pat.
21	Clarendon	
22	Clarendon	Ch.
23-25	Clarendon	Pat.
26	Clarendon	Cl.
29	Lindhurst	Pat.
30	Lindhurst	Prynne, 346, Pat.
Sept.		
1	Lindhurst	Pat.
7	Winchester	Pat.
9	Winchester	Ch.
10,11	Winchester	Pat.
12	Winchester	Fin.
15	Winchester, Wodemancote	Prynne, 348, Pat.
18	Wotton	Pat.
22	Winchester, Wotton	C. R. P. 51, Pat.
25	Overton	Pat.
26	Wotton	Lib.
27	Wodemancote	Pat.
28	Wodemancote	Cl.
29	Wodemancote	Pat.
Oct.		
1	Wodemancote	Cl.
3	Winchester	Pat.
4	Winchester	Prynne, 352.
5	Winchester	Prynne, 353, Pat.
6	Winchester	Cl.
7	Winchester	Pat.
8*	Winchester	St. R. 98, Cl.
10-16	Winchester	Pat.
17,18	Southampton	Pat.
21	Beaulieu Regis	Close.
24	Swayneston, I. of W.	Pat.
25	Swayneston	Lib.
26-28	Swayneston	Pat.

14 EDWARD I.

Nov.		
1	Swayneston	Pat.
4	Swaneston	Pat.
5	Swaneston	Prynne, 350, Pat.
6	Swayneston	Pat.
7	Whytefeud	
8	Whytefeud	Close.
11	Quarr, I. of W.	Chart.
12	Quarrera in Insula de Whyght	
15	Apud Bellum locum Regis	Prynne, 349, Pat.
16	Bellum Locum Regis	Pat.
18	Lindhurst	Pat.
20	Lindhurst	Pat.
21	Lindhurst	Fine.
22	Lindhurst	Lib.
23	Lindhurst	Cl.
24	Ringwood	Cl.
25	Ringwood	
27	Caneford	Pat.
28	Blaneford	Cl.
Dec.		
1	Corf	Pat.
2	Corf	Lib.
4	Byningdon	
5	Cerne	Cl.
7	Shirborn	Pat.
8	Cammel	Pat.
10	Cammel	Cl.
11	Cammel	Lib.
12	Somerton	Cl.
13	Somerton	Pat.
15	Forde	Pat.
16	Stoke Subtus Hameldon	Fine.
17	Stokes	Pat.
19	Ford	Pat.
20	Flokeston	Pat.
22	Exeter	Cl.
23-28	Exeter	Pat.
30	Exeter	Fine.
31	Exeter	Pat.

1286.

Jan.		
1	Exeter	Prynne, 357, Pat.
2	Exeter	Chart.
3-8	Exeter	Pat.
10	Colecombe	
11	Colecombe	Cl.
12	Forde	Pat.
13	Corfcumbe	
16	Caneford and Blaneford	Pat.
17	Caneford	
18	Ringwood	Fine.
20	Ambresbury	Pat.
22,23	Marlboro	Pat.
24	Marlboro	Cl.
25	Deneford	
26	Caversham	
27	Caversham	Pat.
Feb.		
4	Langley	Pat.
6	Langley	Pat.

* The Statute of Winchester passed.

Digitized by Google

10	Westminster	Pat.
11	Westminster	Cl.
12-17	Westminster	Pat.
18	Westminster	Prynne, 366.
19	Westminster	Fine.
20,21	Westminster	Pat.
22	Westminster	Fine.
23-27	Westminster	Pat.
28	Westminster	Prynne, 366, Pat.
Mar.		
3	Wycombe	Pat.
10	Woodstock	Pat.
11	Woodstock	Fœd. 663, Pat.
13,14	Woodstock	Pat.
15	Woodstock	Prynne, 355, Pat.
16	Woodstock	Cl.
19	Quenington	Cl.
21	Down Amney	
23	Down Amney	Cl.
24	Down Amney	Pat.
27	Upaven	Fine.
30	Merewell	Prynne, 355, Pat.
Apr.		
3,4	Chichester	Pat.
5	Midhurst	Pat.
8	Novus Locus	Fine.
10	Langley	Pat.
11	Langley	
12	Langley	Prynne, 355, Pat.
14	Langley	Fine.
15	Langley	Chart.
16	Langley	Pat.
17	Langley	Cl.
18	Langley	Pat.
20,21	Langley	Pat.
24	Westminster	Pat.
25	Westminster	Prynne, 361, Pat.
26,27	Westminster	Pat.
28	Westminster	Prynne, 363, Pat.
29	Westminster	Prynne, 367, Pat.
30	Westminster	Prynne, 362, Pat.
May		
1	Dovor	C. R. P. 53.
3	Ledes	Pat.
4	Ledes	Prynne, 363, Pat.
5-7	Ledes	Pat.
9	Canterbury	Prynne, 360, Pat.
10	Canterbury	Prynne, 359, Pat.
11-13	Dover	Pat.
14*		
19	Abbeville	Ch. trans. [trans.
25	Apud Ambiannum	C. R. P. 53, Ch.
June		
1-11	Paris	C. R., Pat. 52.
12	Paris	Ch. trans.
15	Paris	Prynne, 1282.
22	Paris	Fœd. 667.
26	Paris	Fœd. 667.
29	Paris	Fœd. 667.
July		
1†	Paris	Ch. trans.
6	Paris	Prynne, 1278.
10	Paris	Ch. trans.
15	Paris	Fœd. 668.
17	Paris	I. R. 98. [trans.
18	Paris	C. R. P. 52, Ch.
20	Paris	C. R. P. 52.
26	Paris	Ch. transmar.
27	Paris	Fœd. 671.
28	Paris	C. T. 254.
Aug.		
8	Semoy S.	Fœd. 673.
9	Moret in Brye	Prynne, 1278.
17	Pontiniac	Cl.
Sept.		
16	Somerton	Prynne, 1281.
18	Naverans, Nanerans	C. R. P. 52, Ch. [trans.
Oct.		
25	Leiborne	C. R. P. 52, Ch, [trans.

15 EDWARD I.

Nov.		[trans.
4	Brugerack	C. R. P. 53, Ch.
27	Acton	Prynne, 1284.
	1287.	
Jan.		
23	Burdegal	Prynne, 1289.
Apr.		
18	Burdeg	Prynne, 1286.
28	Burdegala	M. E. 676.
May.		
18	Palud	Prynne, 1288.
June.		
11	Blankeford	Prynne, 1289.
14‡		
15§		
22	Marinak juxta Burdegal	Prynne, 1292.
Aug.		
5	Oloroun in Bieurn	I. R. 97.
6	Mauleon in Gascony	C. T. 100.
Sept.		
7	Aquis	Prynne, 1287.
12	Aquis	Prynne, 1287.
17‖		
22	Migroun	Prynne, 1290.
Oct.		
27	Sanctus Severus	Dugd. Mon. v. 537.

16 EDWARD I.

Nov.		
12	Apud Sanctam Quiteriam	C. T. 255.
14*		
Dec.		
5†		
6‡		
	1288.	
Feb.		
5	Burgh de Reyne	Prynne, 1293.
16§		
Apr.		
24	Burgum Reginæ	C. T. 255.

* Test. Edm. C. Cornb. apud West. Fœd. 681. Rep. Dig. Peer. 53.
† Test. Edmd. C. Corn. apud. West. M. W. 254. ‡ *Id.*
§ Test. Edm. C. Cornub. apud West. M. W. 254.

* Die Lunæ proxima ante Festum S. Dunstani anno &c xiiiio. Rex transfretavit apud Dovor ad partes Franciæ. R. Bathom & Wallen. episcopus Cancellarius suus transfretavit cum ipso Rege cum magno Sigillo ipsius Regis. Pat. 14 Edw. I, m. 9.
The king was now on his way to the continent, where he remained three years, two months, and fifteen days, returning in August 1289. V. Prynne, p. 401.
† Octaves of Nativity of St. John Baptist, on the Friday after this Edward I was at Paris. Fœd. 667.
‡ Teste. Edmundo, C. Corn. Westm.
§ Test. Edmund. Westminster. Rep. Dig. Peer., p. 51.
‖ Test. Edmund. C. Cornub. Fœd. 679.

Digitized by Google

May		
1	Burgum Reginæ - - -	Prynne, 1296.
7	Burgum Reginæ in Vasconia -	Prynne, 1293.
24	Burdeaus - - - -	Prynne, 1294.
June		
23*		
July		
24	York - - - -	M. E. 181.
Aug.		
22	Westminster - - -	P. W. 18.

17 EDWARD I.

Nov.		
30†		
Dec.		
1	Westminster - - -	C. T. 100, 256.

1289.

Feb.		
3	Westminster - - -	C. T. 90.
May		
4	Condrum - - - -	Prynne, 888.
8	Laverdak - - - -	Prynne, 389.
17	Burd - - - -	Prynne, 388.
July		
28	Ambian - - - -	Fœd. 711.
Aug.		
12‡	Dovor, Whitsaund - -	C. R., Pat. 53, Pat.
13	Dovor - - - -	Pat.
14-16	Canterbury - - -	Pat.
17	Canterbury - - -	Red.
18	Ledes - - - -	Prynne, 391, Lib.
19	Ledes - - - -	Cl.
20	Ledes - - - -	Red.
21	Ledes - - - -	Fœd. 712, Lib.
22	Ledes - - - -	Prynne, 384, Lib.
23,24	Ledes - - - -	Pat.
26	Ledes - - - -	Lib.
27	Ledes - - - -	Pat.
30	Reylegh - - - -	Pat.
31	Rayleigh - - - -	Fœd. 712, Pat.
Sept.		
1	Relegh - - - -	Lib.
2-5	Reylegh - - - -	Pat.
6,7	Woodham Ferrers - -	Pat.
10	Totham and Bylegh - -	Pat.
12	Totham and Messing - -	Pat.
13	Colchester - - -	Prynne, 1298.
14	La Naylaunde - - -	Pat.
15	La Naylaunde - - -	Prynne, 386, Pat.
18	St. Edmund, Bradefield, Meleford	P. W. 19, Red.,
19	St. Edmunds - - -	Pat. [Lib.
22	Castle Acre - - -	Firm. Burg. 124.
24	Walsingham, Thorney - -	Pat.
26	Burgh - - - -	Pat.
28	Burgh - - - -	Pat.
29	Burgh - - - -	Prynne, 385, Pat.
30	Burgh - - - -	Prynne, 1297.
Oct.		
3	West Derham - - -	Fine.
10	Waltham - - - -	Fine.
12	Westminster - - -	Red.
13	Westminster - - -	Fœd. 715, Lib.
14	Westminster - - -	Pat.
19,20	Windsor - - - -	Lib.
23	Reading, Caversham - -	Red., Pat.
28,29	Aumbresbury - - -	Pat.
30,31	Clarendon - - -	Cl.

18 EDWARD I.

Nov.		
1	Clarendon - - -	W. A.
2	Clarendon - - -	C. R. P. 53, Red.
4,5	Clarendon - - -	Pat.
6	Clarendon - - -	Fœd. 719, Wall.
7	Clarendon - - -	Pat.
8	Salisbury, Clarendon - -	C. R. P. 53, Lib.
10,11	Clarendon - - -	Pat.
14	Lindhurst - - -	Lib.
16	Lindhurst - - -	Pat.
20	Kingeston - - -	Pat.
21	Lindhurst - - -	Pat.
22	Lindhurst - - -	Lib.
23	Lindhurst - - -	Close.
26	Frompton - - -	Pat.
27	Frompton - - -	-
28	Frompton - - -	Close.
29	Bynedon - - -	W. A.
30	Warham - - -	W. A.
Dec.		
2,3	Warham - - - -	Pat.
4	Lindhurst - - -	Pat.
7	Lindhurst - - -	Close.
8	Lindhurst - - -	Pat.
9,10	Lindhurst - - -	W. A.
12	Lindhurst - - -	W. A.
16	Odiham - - - -	Pat.
17	Odiham - - - -	Red.
18	Guildford - - - -	W. A.
19	Guildford - - - -	Pat.
20	Westminster - - -	-
21	Eshere - - - -	W. A.
22	Westminster - - -	Cl.
23	Westminster - - -	Fine.
25,26	Westminster - - -	Pat.
27	Westminster - - -	-
28	Westminster - - -	Close.
31	Westminster - - -	Fine.

1290.

Jan.		
1	Westminster - - -	Pat.
2	Westminster - - -	Prynne, 427, Pat.
3,4	Westminster - - -	Pat.
5	Westminster - - -	Cl.
6-8	Westminster - - -	Pat.
9	Westminster - - -	-
10	Westminster - - -	Pat.
11	Westminster - - -	Cl.
12	Westminster - - -	Prynne, 419, Cl.
13	Westminster - - -	Pat.
14	Westminster - - -	Prynne, 433, Pat.
15,16	Westminster - - -	Pat.
17	Westminster - - -	Fine.
18	Westminster - - -	Pat.
19	Westminster - - -	W. A.
20	Westminster - - -	Pat.
21	Westminster - - -	Cl.

* Test. Ed. C. Corn. C. R. P. 52.
† Test. Edm. C. Cornub. apud Westmon. M. W. 255.
‡ Die Veneris proxima ante Festum Assump. B. Mariæ. viz. 12 Aug. Rex applicuit apud Dovor de partibus Vascon et Francie. C. R. P. 53.
The king left England May 1286.

Digitized by Google

22,23	Westminster	W. A.
24	Westminster	Pat.
25	Westminster	Prynne, 432, Pat.
26	Westminster	M. E. 165, Pat.
27	Westminster	Pat.
28	Westminster	Prynne, 420, Pat.
29	Westminster	W. A.
30	Westminster	P. W. 20, Pat.
Feb.		
1	Westminster	Pat.
2	Capella fratrum Prædicatorum	W. A.
3	Westminster	Fœd. 726, Pat.
4-6	Westminster	Pat.
7	Westminster	M. E. 165.
8	Westminster	Pat., Lib.
9-14	Westminster	Pat.
15	Westminster	Fœd. 730.
16,17	Westminster	Pat.
18	Westminster	M. E. 687, Pat.
19	Westminster	Pat.
20	Windsor	Pat.
21	Westminster	W. A.
22	Stanes	Pat.
23	Cipham	Pat.
24	Henleygh	Cl.
25	Wallingford	
26	Abingdon	Pat.
27	Henton	Fine.
Mar.		
1	Farndon	Pat.
2	Lechlade	Pat.
3	Quenynton	Fine.
4	Quenynton	Pat.
5	Quenynton	Close.
6,7	Quenynton	Pat.
8	Quenynton	W. A.
9	Quenynton and Down Amney	W. A.
10-12	Dunameneye	Pat.
13	Dunameneye	Close.
14-15	Down Amney	W. A.
16	Cricklade	Pat.
17	Wychendone	W. A.
19	Heyles	Red.
20	Offenham	Close.
21,22	Feckenham	Fine.
23	Feckingham	W. A.
24	Feckingham	Pat.
25	Wodestock	W. A.
26,27	Feckingham	Pat.
28,29	Caumpdene	W. A.
30	Chipping Norton	Pat.
31	Woodstock	W. A.
Apr.		
1,2	Woodstock	W. A.
3	Woodstock	Pat.
4,5	Woodstock	Close.
6	Woodstock	M. E. 571, Pat.
7,8	Woodstock	Pat.
9	Woodstock	W. A.
10	Woodstock	Fœd. 731, Pat.
11	Up Lamburn	Pat.
12	Henneye	Close.
13	Marlbro', Uppavene	W. A.
14	Uppavene	W. A.
15	Ambresbury	W. A.
16	Ambresbury	Pat.
17	Aumbresbury	Fœd. 731, Pat.
18	Aumbresbury	Fœd. 732, Pat.
19	Stockbridge	Pat.
20	Winchester	M. E. 553, Pat.
21,22	Winchester	W. A.
23	Chichester	W. A.
24	Buccleswelle	W. A.
25	Wolvemere	W. A.
26	Guildford	W. A.
28	Westminster	Red.
29	Westminster	Pat.
30	Westminster	
May		
1,6	Westminster	Pat.
7	Westminster	Prynne, 423, Pat.
8	Westminster	Pat.
9,10	Westminster	Close.
11,12	Westminster	Pat.
13	Westminster	Fine.
14	Westminster	Pat. [54.
15	Westminster	Fœd. 734, C. R. P.
16,17	Westminster	Pat.
18	Ambresbury, Westminster	Prynne, 392, Pat.
19	Westminster	Close.
20	Westminster	Pat.
21	Westminster, Stratford	W. A.
22	Westminster	Fine.
23-25	Westminster	Pat.
26	Westminster	Prynne, 423, Pat.
27,28	Westminster	Pat.
29	Westminster	Close.
30	Westminster	Prynne, 432, Pat.
31	Westminster	Close.
June		
1	Westminster	Close.
2-6	Westminster	Pat.
7	Westminster	M. E. 669, Pat.
8	Westminster	M.E.502,659, Pat.
9-15	Westminster	Pat. [R. D. P. 54.
14	Westminster	P. W. 21, Pat.,
15	Westminster	Prynne, 473, Pat.
16-18	Westminster	Pat.
19	Westminster	Close.
20	London, Westminster	Fœd. 734, Pat.,
21,22	Westminster	Pat. [C. R. P. 54.
23	Westminster	Close.
24	Havering	Pat.
26,27	Havering	Close.
28	Havering	Prynne, 431, Pat.
29	Havering	W. A.
30	Havering	Pat.
July		
1	Havering	Prynne, 425, Pat.
2-4	Havering	Pat.
5	Boysars	W. A.
6	Thurrock	W. A.
7	Westminster	Lib.
8	Westminster	Prynne, 412.
9	Westminster	Pat.
10	Westminster	Prynne, 436, Pat.
11	Westminster	Pat.
12	Westminster	Prynne, 436, Pat.
13	Westminster	Fœd. 735.
14	St. Albans, Westminster	I. R. 103, Pat.
15	Westminster	Prynne, 436, Pat.
16	Westminster	Prynne, 431, Pat.
17,18	Westminster	Pat.
19	Westminster	Prynne, 1301, Cl.
20	Westminster	Pat.
21	Westminster	W. A.
22	Westminster	Pat.
23	St. Albans	W. A.
24	Langley	Lib.
25	Langley	W. A.
26	Langley	Prynne, 433, Pat.
27	Westminster	Fœd. 736, Pat.
28,29	Langley	Pat.
30	Assherugg	Pat.

Digitized by Google

Aug.		
1,2	Leghton	Pat.
4	Pasham, Selveston	Pat., Chart.
5	Selveston	W. A.
6	Selveston	Pat.
7	Selveston	Close.
8	Northampton, Selveston	Fœd. 737, Pat.
9	Selveston	W. A.
10	Selveston	Prynne, 436, Pat.
11	Blisworth, Selveston	Pat., Chart.
12	Yerdelegh, Blisworth	W. A.
13	Yerdelee	Pat.
14	Yerdelee	
15	Yerdeley	Close.
16	Hinewick	Close.
17	Northampton	
18	Melcheburn	Fine.
19	Melchbourn	W. A.
20	Melcheburn	Close.
21	Northampton	Close.
22	Northampton	Pat.
23	Thresk, Northampton	Prynne, 430, Pat.
24*	Northampton	C. R. P. 53, Pat.
25,26	Northampton	Pat.
27	Northampton	Close.
28	Northampton	Fœd. 737, Pat.
29	Northampton	Prynne, 399.
30	Geytinton	Close.
31	Geytinton	Pat.
Sept.		
1	Geytynton	Fœd. 739, Pat.
2	Rockingham and Pipwell	Arch. Journ., Pat.
3	Rockingham	P. 361.
4	Rockingham	P. 361, Fine.
5,6	Rockingham	P. 361, Pat.
7	Torpel	Pat.
8	Torpel	Fœd. 739, Pat.
9	Gretham	W. A.
10	Gretham	Pat.
11	Hardby	Archæolog.*
12	Nottingham	Pat.
13-15	Newstead	Arch., Pat.
16	Devises, Newstead	Prynne, 430, Pat.
17	Newstead	Arch., Pat.
18	Rufford	Prynne, 416, Pat.
19	Rufford, Clipstone	Archæolog., Pat.
20,21	Clipstone	Archæolog., Pat.
22	Clipstone	Archæolog., Cl.
23	Clipstone	Archæolog., Pat.
24	Dronfield and Tidswell	Archæolog., Pat.
25	Tidswell	Archæolog., Cl.
26	Chapel en le Frith	Archæolog.
27-29	Macclesfield	Archæolog., Cl.
30	Maclesfield	Archæolog.
Oct.		
1	Macclesfield	Archæolog., Cl.
2	Macclesfield	Archæolog., Pat.
3	Macclesfield	Archæolog.
4,5	Macclesfield	Archæolog., Cl.
6,7	Macclesfield	Archæolog.
8	Tydeswell	Red.
9	Assheford	Pat.
10	Chesterfield	W. A.
11	Langwath	W. A.
12	King's Clipston	Close.
13-17	King's Clipston	Pat.
18	King's Clipston	Prynne, 431, Pat.
19	King's Clipston	Close.
20	King's Clipston	Prynne, 433, Pat.
21,22	King's Clipston	Pat.
23	King's Clipston	Fœd. 741.
24	Tower of London, King's Clipston	Prynne, 426, Pat.
25,26†	King's Clipston	Pat.
27,28	King's Clipstone	Archæol., Pat.
29	King's Clipston	I. R. 104, Pat.
30	King's Clipstone	Archæol., Pat.
31	King's Clipstone	Archæol.

* Safe conduct for the Jews leaving the kingdom. C. R. P. 53.

† The tests are taken from Hunter's paper in the *Archæologia*. On the 14th Edward had left Clipstone and was moving in the direction of Hardby. He was for several days at Laxton, whence he removed to Marnham, and on the 20th he was at Hardby.

19 EDWARD I.

Nov.		
1	King's Clipston	Archæol.†
2	King's Clipston	Prynne, 415, Pat.
3	King's Clipston	Archæol., Pat.
4	King's Clipston	Prynne, 432, Pat.
5	King's Clipston	Archæol., Pat.
6	Clipston	Archæol., Pat.
7-10	Clipston	Archæol.
11	Clipston	Archæol., Pat.
12	Rughford	Fine.
13	Clipston	W. A.
14	Laxton	Close.
15	Laxton	W. A.
16,17	Laxton	Pat.
19	Marnham	W. A.
20	Hardby	Cl.
21,22	Hardby	Arch., Pat.
23	Hardby	Arch., Ch.
24	Hardby	Arch., Pat.
25	Hardby	Arch. [Pat.
26	Fromton, Hardby	Pryn., 434, Arch.,
27	Hardby	Arch., Pat.
28‡	Hardby	Arch., Cl.
Dec.		
2,3	Lincoln	Arch., Pat.
5	Casterton	Arch., Pat.
9	Northampton	Arch., Pat.
13	St. Albans	Arch., Cl.
14,15	London	Pat.
17	Westminster	Cl.
18	Westminster	Pat.
20	Westminster	Prynne, 451, Pat.
21	London	Pat.
22,23	Westminster	Pat.
24-26	Asheridge	Archæol.
27,28	Ashridge	Arch., Pat.
29-31	Ashridge	Archæol.

* From Hunter's paper On the Death of Eleanor, who says Edward was at Newstead from the 13th to 17th.

† This writ authorises the payment of the issues of the Archbishop of York to go to the building of Caernarvon Castle. Prynne, 433.

‡ Order to the Abbot of Clugni to pray for the soul of Eleanor.

[*To be continued.*]

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google